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THE

S P E E C H

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

Fitzgibbon K

JOHN, EARL OF CLARE,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS OF IRELAND,

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1798,

ON A MOTION MADE BY THE

EARL OF MOIRA,

" That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Lord
" Lieutenant to state, that as Parliament had confided to His Excellency
" extraordinary powers in order to support the Laws and defeat traitorous
" Combinations in this Country, we feel it our duty—as those powers
" have not produced the desired effect—to recommend the adoption of
" such conciliatory measures as may allay apprehensions and discontent."

With AN APPENDIX, containing ORIGINAL PAPERS,
referred to in the Course of the Speech.

SECOND EDITION.

DUBLIN: PRINTED FOR JOHN MILIKEN :
LONDON: REPRINTED FOR J. WRIGHT, PICCADILLY.

1798.



To the PUBLIC.

THE very great importance of the CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND'S SPEECH (which contained a COMPLETE REFUTATION of the calumnies so industriously propagated respecting the conduct of Administration), induced the Government Printer there, to give it to the Public as speedily as was consistent with the degree of accuracy, naturally expected from a work coming from AUTHORITY.

It was a faithful copy of this publication which Mr. JOHN STOCKDALE was wantonly pleased to call *spurious*; though no first transcript, perhaps, ever bore greater marks of *authenticity*. Now, however, the *same Printer*, Mr. MILLIKEN, has published another Edition of this Speech; improved by the suggestions of several Gentlemen who heard it, and rendered, as far as human ability can render it, a *verbatim* copy of what was spoken.

AS EVERY FACT, and EVERY ARGUMENT, is amply and correctly given in the Speech I have already published; I should not have thought it necessary or expedient to reprint the one I now venture to lay before the Public, merely on account of its verbal improvements, had it not been furnished, at the same time, with an APPENDIX of the utmost consequence, containing References and State Papers, which could not be procured at the moment Mr. MILLIKEN published his former Edition.

If this be the Pamphlet Mr. STOCKDALE is about to reprint, it is well. The field is open to all; and his zeal in the cause which I conscientiously espouse would have had my praise, had he not made it a stalking-horse to level his abuse at me;—abuse which I know not how I have provoked, unless by peaceably and honestly following the fair line of my profession.

As the APPENDIX is considered of peculiar importance to the SPEECH, which it materially illustrates in several points, I beg leave to inform those gentlemen who have purchased the former Edition, that they may be supplied with it *gratis*.

PICCADILLY,
Monday, March 12, 1798.

J. WRIGHT.

THE LANCET

THE LANCET

IT LORDS
I am happy to have an opportunity of discussing this subject with the noble Lord in this assembly. I know of none on which there has been so much series of studied and premeditated misstatements and certainly very liberal contributions have been made to the common stock, under the mistaken assumption of the noble Earl's name. It is not to be least reported apparently with sufficient authority that have been heard on the night of his speech. The noble Earl has twice brought forward this subject in the British House of Lords. His first proposition to that grave assembly was to abolish the right of the noble Earl to his gracious and paternal prerogative to alter the common law. It is to the advantage of Ireland that a reference to the House of Lords in the British Empire. One principal source of Irish discontent is said to be that the Irish Government is not on their right of appeal in such cases of Parliament. It is which they are prohibited by the statute law of Ireland. Another cause in addition to the people the noble Lord has said is that a Member of the Irish House of Commons had written and without signature.

LORD CHANCELLOR'S

and pro-
nounced an absolute intention on the hopes and
pretensions of Irish Catholics. That another mem-
ber in other House of Parliament had usually
uninvited and without necessity, started up in his
place, and pronounced a sweeping condemnation
on the North of Ireland. I will not take upon
me to say what might have passed in the House
of Commons, but I do, with perfect confidence,

MY LORDS,

I AM happy to have an opportunity of discussing
this subject with the noble Lord in this assembly.
I know of none on which there has been such a
series of studied and persevering misrepresentation,
and certainly very liberal contributions have been
made to the Common Stock, under the sanction and
authority of the noble Earl's name. If we are
to believe reports apparently well authenticated;
which have been nearly avowed this night on his
part, the noble Earl has twice brought forward
this subject in the British House of Lords. His
first proposition to that great assembly was, to ad-
dress his Majesty to interpose his gracious and pa-
ternal interference to allay the dissensions subsist-
ing in the Kingdom of Ireland, which threatened
the dearest interests of the British empire. One
principal source of Irish discontent he stated to be,
that the Irish Catholics insisted on their right of
sitting in both Houses of Parliament, from which
they are precluded by the statute law of Ireland.
Another cause of offence to the people, the noble
Lord stated to be, that a Member of the Irish House
of Commons, had, uninvited and without any ap-
parent

parent necessity, started up in a debate and pronounced an absolute interdiction on the hopes and pretensions of Irish Catholics. That another member in the other House of Parliament had equally uninvited and without necessity, started up in *his* place, and pronounced a sweeping condemnation on the North of Ireland. I will not take upon me to say what might have passed in the House of Commons, but I do, with perfect confidence, assure the noble Lord, that nothing has passed in this House, since I have had the honour of sitting in it, which can give a shade of justice to an imputation thus cast on one of its Members. The noble Earl, if we are to credit written and verbal reports, for the authenticity of which I can in some sort vouch, has recently again brought forward the same subject in the same assembly, when without making a distinct proposition upon it, he certainly did in the acceptance of plain understandings pronounce a sweeping condemnation upon every department of the state, civil and military, in the kingdom of Ireland; when he did in the acceptance of plain understandings represent the executive government as acting wantonly on a system of insult and barbarity against an innocent and unoffending people, and the army of Ireland as active instruments in carrying it into rigorous and unrelenting execution. And let me here with the unfeigned respect which I feel for the name and character of a liberal and high-minded gentleman and a gallant soldier, put it to the noble Lord's good sense on cool and mature reflection, upon what principle

principle he could feel himself justified in passing by this House of Parliament, of which he is a member, and making an appeal to the British House of Lords, on a subject solely and exclusively cognizable by the Parliament of Ireland; let me put it to his good sense, upon what principle he could feel himself justified in pressing the British House of Lords to address his Majesty, to interpose the influence of the Crown to allay discontents in Ireland, which he stated to arise from the operation and effect of Irish statutes, an address of the British House of Lords to his Majesty to interpose the influence of the Crown to procure a repeal of Irish statutes, of deep and momentous import to the constitution of Ireland. Let me put it to his good sense, if he has not been traduced, upon what principle he can justify a rash and ill-adviced assertion, that a member of this House had, uninvited and without necessity, started up in his place, and pronounced a sweeping condemnation on the north of Ireland, and having made the assertion, urge it as a ground for an address of the British House of Lords to his Majesty, to interpose his authority against the effects of this assumed Parliamentary indiscretion in a peer of Ireland, or perhaps to prevent a repetition of it. And above all, upon what principle he could feel himself justified in a statement to the British House of Lords, that the executive Government of Ireland had taught the soldiery to consider and to treat the natives of this country indiscriminately as rebels, and under such a supposition, to goad them with wan-

ton and unexampled insult and barbarity. That
 the obsolete feudal badge of servitude, the curfew,
 was now revived and established in all its rigour in
 Ireland, and enforced by the soldiery with unfeeling
 cruelty and insult. That the infamous and detestable
 principles and proceedings of the Inquisition, had
 been introduced into Ireland, where the unhappy
 natives were put to the torture, to extort from them
 a confession of their own guilt or the guilt of others,
 where the unhappy natives were torn from their fa-
 milies and immured in prisons, ignorant of their ac-
 culers, and in a cruel state of uncertainty as to
 the period of their imprisonment, and the fate which
 awaited them. And that these complicated and un-
 exampled excesses and extravagancies formed only
 a part of the system acted upon by the executive Go-
 vernment of Ireland, and encouraged by the British
 Cabinet. And these virulent and distorted exagger-
 ations have passed into general circulation through
 the medium of every disaffected and seditious public
 print in Great Britain and Ireland, under the pro-
 ferred solemnity of the noble Lord's oath. It remains
 for me publicly and distinctly to refute the foul and
 injurious charges of tyranny, injustice and oppres-
 sion upon the people of Ireland which have been
 advanced against the British Cabinet and the British
 nation, and against the Government and Parliament
 of Ireland; and in so doing, I shall give the best
 answer to every thing which has fallen from the
 noble Lord this night.—It has long been the fashion
 of this country to drown the voice of truth and
 justice by noise and clamour and loud and con-
 fident

silent assertions, and since the separation of America
 from the British empire, where the noble Lord well
 knows some British politicians had successfully play-
 ed a game of embarrassment against Lord North's
 administration, they have been pleased to turn
 their attention to Ireland, as a theatre of political
 warfare, and to lend their best countenance and
 support to every motley faction, which has reared
 its head in this country, to disturb the publick
 peace for the most selfish and mischievous purposes.
 When the noble Lord recommends conciliation as a
 remedy for the turbulent and distracted state of this
 country, with all respect for him, I must conclude,
 that his information flows from this polluted source.
 If conciliation be a pledge of national tranquillity
 and contentment; if it be a spell to allay popular
 ferment, there is not a nation in Europe in which it
 has had so fair a trial as in the kingdom of Ireland.
 For a period nearly of twenty years, a liberal and
 unvaried system of concession and conciliation
 has been pursued and acted upon by the British
 Government. Concession and conciliation have
 produced only a fresh stock of grievances, and
 the discontents of Ireland have kept pace with
 her prosperity; for I am bold to say, there is
 not a nation on the habitable globe, which has
 advanced in cultivation and commerce, in agri-
 culture and in manufactures, with the same ra-
 pidity, in the same period. Her progress is now
 retarded, and it is a heart-breaking spectacle to
 every man who loves the country, to see it arrested
 only

only by the perverse and factious folly of the people, stimulated and encouraged by disappointed fractious men, British as well as Irish. When the noble Lord talks of conciliation as the certain means of tranquillizing the country, I call upon him to say what security he can give us for the accomplishment of his presage. Does he speak from experience? Evidently not: experience is against him. When Lord North opened the trade of the British colonies and plantations to Ireland, Parliament declared itself fully gratified in terms of warm and affectionate satisfaction, and he it remembered that some of the loudest modern declaimers in the British Parliament for Irish emancipation, did then oppose this relaxation in the system of commercial restrictions imposed by British statutes upon Ireland, at the Revolution. In a few months, however, the voice of indignation and complaint was again heard in the Irish House of Commons, and although the encroachments on our constitution and its defects which were then complained of, were generally admitted to exist, a considerable majority in both Houses of Parliament thought it unwise and impolitic to bring them forward in terms of anger and apparent hostility to Great Britain; more especially at a time when the labourer under the pressure of an extensive and calamitous war. An appeal was then, for the first time, preferred from the decision of Parliament to the sacred Majesty of the People, and without any form or formality of trial or sentence, every gentleman of Ireland was summoned to declare

declare open war against the Parliament of Great Britain, was denounced as an enemy to his country, by that candid and august tribunal. However, on a change of administration in 1782, the British Government determined to accede to the demands of Ireland, and adopted a proceeding which, of all others, seemed to be the most flattering and conciliatory to the Parliament and People. The Duke of Portland, by the King's command, sent down a message to both Houses of Parliament, that his Majesty was concerned to find that discontents and jealousies prevailed amongst his loving subjects of Ireland on matters of great weight and importance, and recommending that the same might be taken into serious consideration, in order to such final adjustment as might give mutual satisfaction to Great Britain and Ireland. If ever there was a proceeding devised, which might afford a rational hope of quelling the apprehensions and relieving the exigencies of a distressed country, it was this appeal to their own testimony, for a knowledge of their complaints, to desire them to come forward and to state the measures of their calamities, and the best expedient for their relief of them. And accordingly the measure of concession and conciliation, demanded of Great Britain, for the final adjustment of all political controversy between the two kingdoms, and for their mutual and lasting satisfaction, was framed on the declared sense of the Irish Opposition. Caball for on looking into the Journals it will be found that the address in answer to his Majesty's most gracious

gracious and conciliatory message, was moved and voted by way of amendment, proposed by the leaders of the popular cause in both Houses of Parliament. And the noblemen and gentlemen who undertook the office of pointing out the grievances of Ireland, for a redress which was to lead to a final adjustment of all political divisions between this kingdom and Great Britain, confined them, "To the usurped claim of the British Parliament to make laws for Ireland; to the appellat jurisdiction exercised by the British House of Lords; to the practice of suppressing Bills in the Council of Ireland, or of altering them any where, and to a Perpetual Mutiny Law." In the progress of the same Session, a communication was made to both Houses of Parliament in a speech from the Throne by the Duke of Portland, "that the British Parliament had paid immediate attention to our representation, and that his Majesty would graciously give his Royal Assent to such Bills as might be necessary to give them full effect." To this communication, an answer was made by an Address of both Houses of Parliament to his Majesty, and to the Duke of Portland. This Address was also framed by the Cabinet of Opposition. The noblemen and gentlemen who had originally taken upon them the office of pointing out the constitutional grievances of Ireland, were the movers of it, and did with peculiar eloquence express the acknowledgments of the Parliament and People of Ireland, for the prompt and dignified attention which

which had been paid to their representations. In the Address moved by them, and adopted by both Houses, they assured his Majesty, that "We were fully sensible of the magnanimity of his Majesty, and of the wisdom of his Parliament of Great Britain, in seconding his Majesty's most gracious intentions to this kingdom, without any stipulation or condition whatsoever, and that his Majesty might have the firmest reliance upon the faith, generosity and honour of the Irish nation. That as it is their undoubted interest, so it is their warmest wish, to promote and perpetuate the harmony, stability and glory of the British empire; and that the same spirit which induced them to assert their right to share the freedom of Great Britain, will confirm them in a determination to share her fate also, standing and falling with the British nation." The Commons went a step beyond this House: they assured his Majesty, "that from thenceforward no constitutional question could by possibility arise to interrupt the harmony so happily established between Great Britain and Ireland," and voted the enormous sum of fifty thousand pounds, out of the public purse, as a gratuity to the Gentleman who had thus pledged himself and pledged Parliament to a final settlement of constitutional grievances between the two countries, a settlement so complete and satisfactory, as to render a revival of political or constitutional controversies utterly impossible. This Address was echoed with unbounded applause from end to end of the kingdom, and the founders of the new Irish Constitution, were, for the short period of

a few weeks, the idols of the People. Unfortunately, in that short interval, all harmony was at an end. A Gentleman of distinguished ability discovered, that the simple repeal of a declaratory law, did not contain a renunciation of the principle which had been declared; from whence he argued, that our new Constitution was a bubble, that the Irish nation had been duped by the British Minister and Parliament, and that the noblemen and gentlemen who had undertaken Irish emancipation (it was at this period I think the phrase got into use) acquiescing in the deception, must be considered as accomplices in the treachery of Great Britain. To this abstract proposition, and to the inference drawn from it, immediate and general assent was given, and a gentleman who had been raised to the pinnacle of popular favour and applause, for acknowledged public services, instantly became the subject of popular execration, and was loaded with foul and most unmerited calumny and abuse, for no other reason than his refusal to concur in committing the Parliament of this country in a quarrel with the British nation, upon this abstract rule of interpretation which was assumed to apply to all declaratory statutes, and to establish unequivocally the insincerity of Great Britain. It is not necessary now to examine the merits of the abstract legal question, but this I do not scruple to say, that nine hundred and ninety-nine men in one thousand, who so loudly condemned the act of Simple Repeal, were utterly incapable of forming an opinion on the subject, and

that

that if from the same authority they had been told, that an act of Renunciation was an insult to the nation, inasmuch as it implied an existing principle to be renounced, the men who so loudly condemned a simple repeal, would have been equally noisy against renunciation. But I should have hoped that this gross and glaring instance of popular levity would have taught the sober part of the community, and more especially the gentlemen who had well nigh fallen victims to it, the imminent hazard of inflaming the popular mind upon abstract political topics, and of making appeals to the majesty of the people, for the redress of speculative political grievances. At the same period the majesty of the people was a second time affronted. We had in the warmth of our gratitude, and before the simple repeal bubble had been discovered, voted away almost every regiment of infantry on the Irish establishment, for the service of the Empire, insomuch that there were not soldiers left in the country for common garrison duty. The Duke of Portland, with no other possible view than to provide for the necessary service of the kingdom, on terms the most economical, raised four provincial regiments to be disbanded at the conclusion of the war. This was construed to be an insidious scheme of the British Government, to undermine the popular institution of Volunteers. If so many regiments of the line had been raised, and the establishment had been incumbered with half-pay for the officers, I presume the majesty of the people would not have been offended; but a sensible regi-

ment was new in Ireland, and without further enquiry or consideration, this necessary act of public duty, adopted by the Duke of Portland upon a mere principle of public economy, was generally and loudly condemned as a fresh instance of British insincerity. It happened soon after the Duke of Portland had quitted the Government of this kingdom, that the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster, gave their judgement upon a record removed by writ of error brought there, from the King's Bench of Ireland; and no man who knows the law will say, that they could have done otherwise. They found a record removed into their Court by authority of the King's writ, and finding it there, they could not avoid giving judgment upon it. This however raised a new ferment in Ireland, and this judicial act of Lord Mansfield and his brethren, was represented here as a direct violation of British faith, and an open and unequivocal attack upon the Irish constitution. Lord Buckingham was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and although I was not then a servant of the Crown, having lived in early habits of friendship and intimacy with him, I can from my knowledge state, that with a firm conviction that Great Britain had always intended, fully, fairly, and unequivocally to renounce all legislative and judicial authority over this country, he felt the warmest anxiety to satisfy the people of Ireland that their suspicions were unfounded; that whether the act by which the British Parliament yielded their legislative claims,

was

was an act of simple repeal, or an act of renunciation, they might and ought to place full and firm confidence in the faith and honour of Great Britain as their best security; but it was stated to him that there were British statutes unrepealed made for the protection of trade, particularly to the East Indies, by which penalties were inflicted upon Irish subjects for breach of them committed in this country, and that suits for the recovery of these penalties, were, by the same statutes, recognizable in the King's superior Courts at Westminster; and it was stated to him that the mere repeal of the declaratory act of the 6th Geo. I. would not be sufficient to bar any suit which might be so instituted, but that an act of renunciation would be construed by the English judges as a virtual repeal of all laws theretofore made which imported to bind Ireland. Lord Buckingham therefore plainly saw that such an act was necessary for the peace of both countries, and warmly recommended to the British Government to have it proposed in Parliament. Accordingly a Bill was introduced into the British House of Commons I believe by his brother, now Lord Grenville, which passed into a law without opposition, renouncing in terms the most unequivocal all legislative or judicial authority in Ireland, declaring the right of the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by their Parliament, and barring all writs in error or appeals from judgment or decrees of Ireland, to any British Judicature; and I very much fear there are men in this country, who never have forgiven Lord Buckingham

Buckingham for the part which he took in advising a measure so necessary to the peace of Great Britain and Ireland. It might reasonably have been expected that the people of Ireland, being gratified on the point of renunciation would have taken breath, and suspended at least their constitutional labours. But the moment the act of renunciation was obtained, a new grievance occurred, and it was discovered that in order to secure the new constitution of Ireland, it was necessary to alter the frame of the representative body by which in effect it had been established, and the people being then self arrayed and armed, after due deliberation, it was determined to elect a military convention to meet in the metropolis, as the surest, most efficacious, and constitutional organ, through which to convey the sense of the nation upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform. This Convention assembled with considerable military pomp and parade at the City of Dublin, and having assumed to itself all the forms and functions of a House of Parliament, a Bill for the Reform of the Representation of the People was regularly presented, read a first and second time, committed, reported, and agreed to, and being engrossed, was sent at the point of the bayonet by two Members of the Convention, who were also Members of the House of Commons, to be registered by that Assembly. The House of Commons treated this insult with the indignant contempt which it merited, and the men who had been betrayed into such an act of contumacious folly awed by the rebuke which they received

received from the House of Commons, and by the
 financials of Lord Northington, dispersed and return-
 ed to the places from whence they had come, many
 of them much ashamed of their rashness and intem-
 perance. And be it also remembered, that one of
 the loudest modern declaimers in the British Parlia-
 ment for Irish emancipation, was then a Cabinet
 Minister of Great Britain, and that he did then,
 with all the energy and ability which distinguish
 him, most emphatically state his opinion to Lord
 Northington, that the existence of legitimate go-
 vernment in Ireland, depended on the dispersion of
 this Convention, and that her connection with the
 British Crown depended on preserving the frame of
 the Irish House of Commons as it then stood, unal-
 tered and unimpaired. After the dispersion of this
 Military Convention, we had a short respite from
 popular ferment on the ground of constitutional
 grievances, but a new topic of discontent was start-
 ed. It was discovered that the manufactures of
 Great Britain were imported into this country upon
 terms which gave them a preference in the Irish
 market,—a preference by the way which superior
 excellence alone can give them, and the remedy pro-
 posed for this grievance was, that we should com-
 mence a war of prohibitory duties, although it was
 notorious that the balance of trade between Great
 Britain and Ireland was very considerably in our fa-
 vour, and that if the Parliament of Ireland had
 been so infatuated as to yield to popular outcry upon
 this subject, we had not the means of manufacturing
 woollen

woollen cloth in this country, nearly sufficient for the use of its inhabitants. The discussion of this question, however, led to the memorable treaty in 1785, if I may so call it, between the Parliaments of both countries, for a final adjustment of the commercial intercourse between this country and Great Britain, and the British Colonies and Plantations, when a fair and liberal offer was made by Great Britain to open her markets, and to share her capital with this country; to give to Ireland a perpetual right of trading with her colonies and plantations upon the terms only of our adopting the laws which she enacts for regulating her navigation and trade with them. This offer was wisely rejected by the Irish House of Commons, under a silly deception put upon the people of Ireland, who were taught to believe, that the offer thus made to them was an insidious artifice of the British Minister to revive the legislative authority of the British Parliament, which had been so recently and unequivocally renounced, and under this gross and palpable deception were the solid interests of Great Britain and Ireland, their mutual peace and harmony, and indissoluble connection sacrificed in the House of Commons of Ireland, on the altar of British and Irish faction. If any thing could have opened the eyes of the nation what passed within two Sessions from 1785, ought to have exposed the duplicity practised upon them at that period. In the interval, Great Britain thought it necessary to extend the principle of her navigation acts to ships British and Irish built; and in 1787, the

the Parliament of Ireland did without hesitation adopt this new act of navigation, and declared all the British acts of navigation to be of force in this country, a point which some persons had before that time affected to question. And there is no real friend of Ireland who can doubt that it is her interest to follow Great Britain in her code of Navigation Laws; there is no real friend of Ireland who can doubt that it is her interest to follow Great Britain in her Code of Laws for regulating her Trade with the British colonies and plantations, for on no other terms can we be permitted to trade with them. There must be one system of imperial policy throughout the British empire, and if we are to remain a part of it, it is idle to suppose that the Parliament of Ireland can ever enact laws in opposition to any principle of imperial policy adopted by Great Britain.

Unhappily in 1789, a new occasion arose upon which the Parliament of this country thought fit to act upon the most critical imperial question which could have arisen, not only without regard to what had passed upon the same subject in Great Britain, but with direct and avowed hostility to the Parliament and Government of that country. I pass by the events of that disastrous period, and shall only say, that the intemperate, illegal, and precipitate conduct of the Irish House of Commons upon that critical and momentous occasion, has, in my opinion, in all its consequences, shaken to its foundations our boasted constitution, and eminently contributed to bring this

country into its present dangerous and alarming situation. It is in the recollection of us all, that at the conclusion of the session of 1780, nothing was left untried by Lord Buckingham to restore peace, and to conciliate those who had acted with marked personal hostility to him, so far as he could go without a breach of public duty. If he was capable of harbouring private resentment for unprovoked personal injuries offered to him, he had the magnanimity to sacrifice his feelings to an anxious solicitude for the peace of Ireland; and I have often lamented that his efforts proved unsuccessful, and that he was compelled much against his will, to displace some old servants of the Crown who had opposed his Government with warmth, and not only avowed their determination to persist in the same opposition, but declined with fullen indignation even to hold communication with him. And if the confidential servants of the Crown are to oppose his Majesty's Government, and to decline all communication with his Ministers, I am at a loss to know how it can exist. The first step which was taken in consequence of this political schism by gentlemen who had been the sole authors of it, was to found a political club for the reformation of alleged public abuses and political grievances. The first society of that class which I believe had existed in this country; certainly it is the first within my memory. This political institution was announced to the world by a manifesto signed and counter-signed, in which the British Government was charged in direct terms with a deliberate

to a legislative and administrative system.

and systematic conspiracy to subvert the li-
 berty of Ireland. The aim of it was, a solemn
 resolution to preserve the constitution of the realm
 as settled by the revolution in Great Britain and
 Ireland in 1688, and re-established in Ireland in
 1782; and all persons of congenial sentiments and
 principles were invited to repair to the standard
 thus raised for the protection of the constitution as
 settled by the revolution of 1688. The public
 measures proposed by this society in this their first
 manifesto were, as I recollect, a place bill, a pen-
 sion bill, and what was called a responsibility bill,
 measures which I have seen resisted warmly by
 some members of this society when I sat in the
 House of Commons. In the succeeding sessions
 of Parliament, they were brought forward succe-
 ssively and repeatedly, and were successively and re-
 peatedly rejected; the place bill then proposed, was
 nearly a transcript of that which has since been
 adopted; the pension bill authorized an applica-
 tion of eighty thousand pounds yearly by the Crown
 to pensions; and would if then adopted, have been
 the sole appropriation of the Public Revenue in Ire-
 land; and the responsibility bill, as it was called,
 would have constituted an executive directory, by
 erecting a commission composed of five public of-
 ficers, with full power to controul the Crown in the
 exercise of its vital functions; but in discussing the
 merits of these bills, the debates of the House of
 Commons were conducted with a degree of heat
 and acrimony utterly unbecoming the gravity and
 decorum of a legislative assembly. If we are to cre-

gains the Newspaper reports of the debates which were carried on in that House at this period, they exhibit a series of coarse and acrimonious, and disgusting invective, turned only to the meridian of Billingsgate, and displayed to the people a picture of their representatives from their own pencil, little calculated to inspire them with confidence or respect. What was the consequence? The people soon subscribed to the opinions which their Representatives had promulgated, and gave them all full credit for the villainous charges which they had advanced against each other; they had been taught to believe, as often as the political views of contending parties were answered by the suggestion, that Great Britain was the natural rival and enemy of this country; that she was insincere in all the concessions which had been made to Ireland, and waited only an opportunity to recall them. That our connection with the British Crown, was a source of national depression, and finally that a deliberate and systematic conspiracy had been formed by the British Government to subvert the liberties of the Irish nation. For the truth of these assertions let me refer every dispassionate man to the detail with which I have already troubled your Lordships, and for their wisdom, to subsequent events intimately connected with them:—to a self-degraded House of Commons the people were not likely to appeal for relief, against a deliberate and systematic British conspiracy, formed to subvert their liberties. In a political

political club composed of some of the leading members of that assembly, they could not be supposed very forward to put implicit confidence, and therefore, with minds enflamed against the British name and nation, they looked to political clubs of their own; not to procure a place bill, or a pension bill, or a responsibility bill, but to cut off the source of all past and future aggressions, by subverting the monarchy, and separating this country for ever from Great Britain. The corner stones of this wise and salutary project were, "Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform," which with a little foreign assistance, when the country should be ripe for it, it was hoped, would infallibly ensure its success. Accordingly, in the year 1791, a new political club was formed in the metropolis, connected at its institution with similar affiliated clubs at Belfast and Cork, which was also announced by a manifesto directed, not against British ministers, but against the British nation, stating what was felt as the real grievance of Ireland, and known to be its effectual remedy. That Ireland had no national government, that she was ruled by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen, filled in commerce and politics with the narrow prejudices of their country. This is the grievance; now mark the remedy. After scouting the measure of place bill, responsibility bill and pension bill as utterly inadequate to the case, they resolve that, to cut it up by the root, the representation of the people must be reformed by a general extension of the elective franchise

and I have no doubt that this will be the case, and that a general union amongst all the people was essentially necessary to counteract the weight of British influence. To effect which Union against Great Britain, an abolition of all religious distinctions in the state was indispensable. An appeal followed to the volunteers of Ireland, beseeching them to resume their arms, and to establish in fact, as they had in theory restored, the independence of Ireland, and a general recommendation to form similar societies in every quarter of the kingdom for the promotion of constitutional knowledge, and the dissemination of genuine whig principles. The object of this political association seems to be unequivocally avowed in this their first manifesto. However a full explanation of it by the author has been twice verified on oath before a secret committee of this House; in which it is distinctly avowed that this Irish Union was originally projected by Mr. Tone, who is now a fugitive for treason, for the sole purpose of separating this kingdom from the British crown, and the same project is even more distinctly avowed in the paper quoted by the noble Baron who spoke second in the debate. Immediately a general outcry was raised of commiseration and love for the Catholics of Ireland, in which, for the first time since the Reformation, a great body of the Protestant Dissenters joined; and Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform went forth as the watch words of innovation and treason; and the system of innovation and treason has been pursued ever since. I am sorry to say with equal assiduity and

and themselves have offended that this party of conspirators calling themselves United Irishmen were suffered to establish itself unmolested in the metropolis; and that the Magistrates of the City of Dublin so long delayed any interposition on their part to relieve the Community from such a nuisance. If they had been dispersed on their first appearance, much public mischief would have been prevented. The first object of this Jacobin institution was, to detach the Catholics of Ireland from a Committee composed of the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen of their communion, and to place them under the management of a Directory composed of men of a very different description. They saw that so long as the great body of Catholics were directed by men of rank and fortune and approved loyalty, their allegiance had remained unquestioned; and that under such influence, it would be a vain attempt to shake it. Your Lordships will recollect the gross and unpardonable ribaldry with which the public prints teemed against the late Lord Kenmare on the suit of this new Directory, for no other reason than that he had presumed to disapprove a tone of Jacobinism and disloyalty which they had assumed, and would have induced them to prefer their claims in terms of duty and respect to the Legislature. Under this Directory a complete system of Domination was established for the Government of the Catholics of Ireland, and through the mediation of Mr. Tappin and his Jacobin associates at Belfast, an alliance was negotiated with the Dissenters of the Northern

province, who were given to understand that for
 concurrence in the system of religious Emancipation,
 they might expect cordial and decisive support from
 the body of the Catholics in the grand project of
 Parliamentary Reform, or in other words, of Anar-
 chy and Democracy. To forward this project, the
 lower orders of the Catholics were stimulated to
 associate under the title of Defenders, and were im-
 pressed with an opinion, that by robbing the houses
 of Protestants of arms and ammunition, they would
 contribute to the success of the Catholic cause, and
 finally be relieved from the payment of tythes,
 taxes and rent. I will not say that this system of
 robbery and outrage which was struck out for an
 ignorant and deluded populace, was first devised by
 the Catholic Directory. But your Lordships are in
 possession of full proof, that some of the unfortu-
 nate men who were capitally indicted as Defenders
 in the summer 1792, were patronized and protected
 by them, and that considerable sums of money were
 paid out of their stock purse to defray the expence
 attending the trials of some persons who were then
 convicted in the County of Louth. For this I have
 only to refer to the official letter of their secretary,
 which was proved before the Secret Committee of this
 House in 1793, and it is stated at length in their re-
 port which has been just now read*. It is now fully
 ascertained that a close connexion and correspond-
 ence established between the Catholic Directory and
 the Irish Union.

In addition to this force of midnight robbery and
 outrage, orders were issued by the Jacobin Clubs at

* See Appendix.

Dublin and Belfast, to levy regiments of National Guards in every part of the kingdom; their uniform French, and all their ensigns emblems of disaffection. This banditti, however, was put down at the first moment of its appearance, and I cannot but lament, that every other rebellious combination has not been met with equal vigour and decision.— If it had—much public mischief would have been prevented.—The noble Lord who is so forward to impute Irish disaffection to what he calls a system of coercion, acted upon by the Irish Government, and encouraged by the British Cabinet, will here please to recollect, that the system of midnight robbery and avowed rebellion was completely established before any one statute was enacted here, to which alone every profligate innovator in Great Britain and Ireland pretends to ascribe the present matured system of Irish treason; and he will also please to recollect, that the first of these statutes was enacted in consequence of a Report of a Committee of this House which has been just now read; a Committee appointed on the motion of a noble Earl unconnected with Government, and without communication with Lord Westmoreland, who was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and I lament that a severe accident has prevented that noble Earl from attending his duty on this night. It is stated distinctly in that Report, that in 1792, and 1793, the project of levying a revolutionary army had been formed; that soldiers were forth-coming in abundance, but that officers were wanting; and I will tell that noble Lord, that this

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project

project was discredited by evidence the most clear and
 satisfactory, by the testimony of gentlemen of rank
 and character, some of them at this moment high in
 military command in the King's service. The first
 act which passed in consequence of this Report ex-
 tended only to prohibit the importation of arms and
 ammunition, or the removal of either by coast or
 inland carriage, without license: and will the noble
 Lord venture, in this assembly, to condemn this
 wholesome and necessary measure of precaution by
 the Irish Legislature, when it appeared distinctly,
 that a traiterous conspiracy had been formed in the
 bosom of their country to levy an army, for the
 avowed purpose of overawing and subverting the
 constituted authorities of the state. In the same
 session, in consequence of the same Report, another
 act passed for stopping the contraband trade of Par-
 liament, for declaring the law with respect to popu-
 lar Conventions; for declaring the law, which I
 assert with confidence, prohibits and condemns all
 such meetings as unlawful assemblies, tending to dis-
 turb public tranquillity, and to raise well-founded
 alarms in the minds of the King's peaceable sub-
 jects. One of these Conventions had recently held a
 regular session in the metropolis, and I have seldom
 read more seditious and inflammatory libels than
 were daily circulated in the public prints appointed
 by authority to report their debates; and a mandate
 was actually issued, early in the year 1793 to elect
 a National Convention to be holden at Athlone, for
 the redress of national grievances civil and religious.

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The mode of election was formed by the Irish Union on the model devised by their Jacobin associates in France: primary assemblies were convened in every parish to chuse a certain number of electors, who were to meet at a central point in the county, to chuse their representatives. It is not a strained inference to suppose, that these primary assemblies were not attended by the most sober and industrious inhabitants of the parish, and that sobriety and industry had no very decided influence in the choice of electors; neither does it require any great political sagacity to see, that if an assembly so constituted had been suffered to establish itself, a prompt and general chain of intercourse and communication would at once have been formed between the turbulent and disaffected members of the community in every part of the kingdom; and it would have rested with the discretion of an invisible power, thus possessed of the means of receiving and communicating prompt and accurate and general intelligence to order a general or partial insurrection at pleasure. And yet these measures of legislative precaution, thus forced upon Parliament by treasons avowed and meditated, have been represented as the original source of popular discontent, and have been condemned by the noble Lord in terms of bitterness and indignation, as a part of the system of coercion, as he is pleased to call it, wantonly inflicted by the Irish Government upon an innocent and unoffending people, and secretly encouraged by the British Cabinet. Would the noble Lord be understood to as-

sent that the Irish Parliament have betrayed their
 trust in stopping the supply of military stores to a
 revolutionary army, and repressing turbulent and
 seditious assemblies, notoriously convened for pro-
 moting rebellion, and overthrowing the consti-
 tution: or would the noble Lord be understood to
 insinuate, that the Lords and Commons of Ireland
 have betrayed their trust, because they have not
 looked at the growth of sedition and treason with
 and unmoved, in pure compliment to his incre-
 dibility. The Parliament of Ireland did their duty in
 framing new laws, to meet new and extraordinary
 exigencies; and if there be a ground of censure on
 Parliament, it is, that their vigour was not propor-
 tioned to the magnitude and extent of the evil.
 The treasonable associations which were the source
 of it, were suffered to augment, unite and marshal
 their disciples, in one common league of mischief,
 inasmuch, that, under their orders, nearly the whole
 of the Northern district, and some counties conti-
 guous to the metropolis, became a scene of general
 murder, and robbery and midnight depredation.
 Every man who was accused by the Brotherhood of
 loyalty or peaceable demeanour was stripped of his
 arms—if he presumed to defend himself he was
 murdered. The few Magistrates who ventured to
 execute the law, were marked for assassination, and
 many of them were actually murdered: Parliament
 therefore found it necessary to interpose again,
 and to frame a law, if possible, to meet this
 horrid state of barbarism and outrage, which had
 bid

this measure to the ordinary courts of justice,
 and in the session of 1796, the Insurrection Act
 was passed, which enables the Lord Lieutenant
 and Council, on a representation of the Justices at
 a Session of the Peace, that any particular district is
 in a state of insurrection, by proclamation to declare
 it so to be, and the Magistrates, in a proclaimed
 district, are enabled to exercise strong and summary
 powers for repressing tumult and outrage, and pre-
 serving the peace. Amongst others, they are au-
 thorized to order all persons within the proclaimed
 district to remain in their houses, and to put out
 their lights after a certain hour of the night. This
 the noble Lord has been pleased to represent as a re-
 vivial of the obsolete feudal badge of servitude, the
 curfew, and a rigorous execution of it throughout
 the kingdom of Ireland. The first application to the
 Lord Lieutenant and Council for carrying this act
 into execution, was made by the magistrates of the
 county of Armagh, where a religious feud had
 broken out, and was attended with lamentable ex-
 cesses, a feud which was revived by the wicked ma-
 lochinations of the Irish brotherhood, and with un-
 blushing effrontery represented by them, as a Go-
 vernment persecution instituted against the northern
 Catholics. I will state the short history of this reli-
 gious quarrel, and the noble Lord will see the griev-
 ous indiscretion into which he has been betrayed
 upon this head of his accusation against the Irish
 government. Many years since the Protestants, in
 a mountainous district of the county of Armagh,
 associated

affiliated under the Appellation of Peep of Day Boys to disarm their Catholic neighbours, who associated for their common defence under the title of Defenders. This feud however was soon composed, and for years there was not any revival of it, but when the general system of robbing Protestants of their arms was established by the Irish Union and the lower order of the Catholics assuming their old appellations of Defenders, undertook this service, the Protestants in the county of Armagh associated for their common defence under the title of Orangemen, and feeling in the progress of the contest, that they were an overmatch for their adversaries, they did commit many very grievous excesses, which I lament as deeply as the noble Lord. In the origin of this contest, many years since, there is no doubt the Northern Protestants were the aggressors, but the feud was notoriously revived by the modern banditti of Defenders, who in their turn attacked the Orangemen, and would have disarmed them. Lord Camden made every possible exertion to restore peace and to punish those who had violated the law without distinction. He sent down Colonel Craddock to take the military force in that district under his command, with positive instructions to co-operate with the civil power in suppressing tumult, and in restoring peace and good order, and so sensible were the gentlemen of the county of Armagh of their obligations to his Excellency, that at a full meeting of the magistrates they returned their thanks unanimously for his extraordinary exertions to maintain

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the peace of that district. As the ensuing assizes, the Attorney General was sent down with instructions to prosecute indiscriminately every person who stood charged with acts of outrage and disturbance of the public peace, and no man can doubt his impartial discharge of his duty. But the exertions of the Executive Government were baffled by the local factions of that district, a general election was at hand, and gentlemen who were Candidates for popular favour declined to interpose between the contending parties, lest they might impair their election interests. Under the same pernicious influence, the Magistrates of the County were ranged under the banners of Orange-men or Defenders, just as it best suited their election politics, insomuch that if I could have found persons in that country who would have done their duty, I would have issued an entire new Commission of the Peace. This is the plain history of the religious feud between the Protestants and Papists of the county of Armagh; a feud which the noble Lord has charged upon the Irish Government as a part of the system adopted for the persecution of Irish Catholics, and secretly encouraged by the British Cabinet,—a persecution to which, by his account, ninety families had fallen victims on his Lordship's estate.

Let me now state the nature of that treasonable combination which has been formed, and which the noble Lord proposes to dissolve by a repeal of the Test Laws and the Act of Supremacy, a combination the most dangerous and singular which is to

be

be found in the annals of the civilized world. The subordinate societies consist of thirty members only; when their numbers exceed thirty, the excess is sold off, and a new society is founded, with instructions to make proselytes. And in like manner, whenever their numbers exceed thirty, the excess becomes the foundation of another club; these societies elect Delegates from each, who form committees of an higher order, which are called Baroniad, and have the management and superintendence of all the subordinate clubs or societies in each Barony; the Baroniad committees in like manner elect Delegates, in each county, who by the name of county committees, govern and direct the Baroniads. The county committees in like manner elect Delegates, who form a superintending provincial committee, for the government and appoint the general executive, whose station is in the metropolis; every member of this union has the direction of the several county committees in each of the four Provinces, and these Provincial Directories bound by solemn and mystic oaths, one of which we know to be, an oath of secrecy; another, never to give evidence in any Court of Justice against a brother, let his crime be what it may; and a third an oath of fidelity to the French Republic. The resources of the union are the seduction of the lower orders of the people, under the specious pretext of Freedom and Equality, and every artifice which cunning and profligacy can suggest, has been practised to detach them from the established Government

ment and Constitution. The Paris has been used with signal success as an engine of rebellion. Sedition and treason have been circulated with increasing industry, in newspapers and pamphlets, and hand-bills and speeches, and republican songs with political manifestoes. Robbery, assassination, and misfeasance are the efficient powers of the Union, and are executed with prompt and unerring rigour by the order of every member of the executive in their several departments. The communication of their orders is so managed, as to render detection almost impossible. Each society has its secretary from the general executive, down to the lower subordinate clubs, the members of which are generally used as the agents of the Union in all acts of outrage; and every order is communicated by the secretary of the superior committee to the secretary of that committee or society, which is next in immediate subordination to it; no subordinate committee knows of whom its next superior is composed; (the accredited secretary vouches the order, from whom it is received implicitly, and is communicated in like manner, till it reaches every member of the Union to whom it is addressed. The order is generally verbal, but if it be reduced to writing, the moment the person who is to receive and communicate it is fully instructed, the paper is destroyed. Here then is a complete Revolutionary Government organized against the laws and established constitution; and let me ask the noble Lord, whether such a combination is to be

met or counteracted, much less dissolved by the
 flow and technical forms of a regular Govern-
 ment: an invisible power of infinite subtlety and
 extent, which has no fixed or permanent station,
 which acts by the ungoverned fury of a desperate
 and savage race, and scatters universal desolation
 and dismay, at its sovereign will and pleasure.
 Such was the influence of this system of terror,
 that several well disposed persons were induced
 from mere apprehensions for their personal security
 to join the union, and some of them have, I fear,
 become reconciled by habit to this general league
 of mischief, under the same influence witnesses were
 deterred from coming forward to give testimony
 for the Crown, and every Juryman who should
 dare to join in a verdict of conviction was threaten-
 ed with assassination: I have read a circular printed
 hand-bill which was publicly distributed in the dis-
 turbed districts in the course of the last summer,
 threatening every man who should dare to execute
 the laws against a member of the brotherhood with
 inevitable destruction, and in some counties this
 menace had its full effect. Has the noble Lord
 heard of the numberless murders which have been
 perpetrated by the orders of the Irish union, for
 the crime of putting the laws of the country into
 a course of execution? Has he heard of the murder
 of Mr. Butler, a clergyman and a magistrate? Has
 he heard of the murder of Mr. Knipe, a clergy-
 man and a magistrate? has he heard of the murder
 of Mr. Hamilton, a clergyman and a magistrate,

and

and the circumstances of horror which attended it. This unhappy gentleman, who had been a Fellow of Trinity College, and had retired to a college Benefice in the county of Donegal, a man of exemplary piety and learning, had been guilty of the heinous crime of inculcating habits of religion and morality and industry and due subordination in a wild and remote district; he had also been guilty of exertion as a Magistrate to stop the progress of treason, and was accordingly denounced by the brotherhood. He had, as every other gentleman in the same predicament was obliged to do, converted his dwelling house into a fortress, which was protected by a military guard; he had gone to Derry, but hearing of a disturbance in his neighbourhood, he fatally prepared to return and quiet it, intending to take shelter from his enemies before the return of night. In this, however, he was prevented by a storm, which made it impossible for him to repass a lake, on the edge of which his dwelling stood, and he went to the house of a friend, Mr. Waller, who had been also a Fellow of Trinity College, and who to his misfortune received him. Whilst this gentleman and his wife and children were quietly sitting with their guest by the fire-side, a volley of musquetry was discharged into his house, which instantly killed Mrs. Waller, and this was the first notice of the attack. The savages who surrounded the house cried out for Mr. Hamilton, and threatened to burn it unless he was delivered into their hands; when this unfor-

and his gentle nature was dragged from his hiding
 place by the servants of his host, delivered into the
 hands of his enemies, and butchered by them with
 aggravated circumstances of barbarity too shocking
 to relate; his widow and helpless children have a
 pension from the Crown, or they must have perished
 for want. Has the noble Lord heard of the
 murder of Mr. Cummins, whose crime was, that
 he had presumed to enrol his name in a corps of
 Feomanry, under the command of his Landlord,
 the Earl of Londonderry? Has he heard of the
 attempt to assassinate Mr. Johnston, a magistrate in
 the populous town of Lisburn? Has he heard of
 the recent murder of Colonel St. George, and of
 his host Mr. Uniacke? Has he heard of the recent
 murder of two dragoons who had discovered to
 their officers an attempt to seduce them? In a word,
 let me ask the noble Lord, whether he has heard of
 the numberless and atrocious deeds of massacre
 and assassination, which form a part of the system
 acted upon by the Irish brotherhood, and encouraged
 by the privileged orders of innovation? I hold the
 dark and bloody catalogue! but will not proclaim
 to the civilized world the state of cannibal barba-
 rism to which my unhappy country has been
 brought back by these pestilent and cowardly trai-
 tors. These are the men of sentiment whom the
 noble Lord is anxious to conciliate; these are the
 injured innocents, whose cause he has so often and
 so pathetically pleaded; the injured innocents who
 died in midnight robbery, conflagration, and mur-

der;

and the most terrible and desolation, and the loss of his devoted country. The noble Lord may comprehend this scene of horror with coolness from another kingdom, but he will not be surprised that the gentlemen of Ireland, whose existence is at stake, do not view it with the same indifference. I know the noble Lord has declared his opinion that assassination forms no part of the system which is acted upon by the Irish brotherhood, and encouraged by the privileged orders of innovation. I know that he has declared his opinion, that the numberless murders which have been committed in Ireland since the institution of the brotherhood, are but so many instances of private and individual spleen. Nay more, I know the noble Lord has broadly insinuated an opinion, that a periodical paper published in the metropolis, which recommends assassination, and points out individuals for massacre, is printed and published by the connivance of the Irish Government, and forms a part of the system acted upon here and encouraged by the British Cabinet. If the noble Lord continues to hold that opinion, I will for the present leave him in the undisturbed possession of it, and shall only recommend to him to peruse attentively printed reports of the trial of twelve men convicted of a conspiracy to murder a soldier in the Brigade of Artillery, who had ventured to reveal to his officers an attempt made to seduce him, and of the trial of some domestics of Lord Carnhampton who were convicted of a conspiracy to murder him. If the noble Lord

only strictly legal. I beg to refer him to the Judges who presided at the trials. When public justice was thus subverted; when the laws were openly insulted and beaten down; when every Gentleman who had courage to remain in his country was marked for assassination, and had no protection under his own roof but from a military guard; when a plan was actually formed, and nearly ripe for execution, to disarm and cut off the soldiery thus dispersed in small bodies for the protection of individuals; when a fierce and savage foreign enemy hung upon the Irish coast, what alternative remained for the Executive Government, but to surrender at discretion to a horde of traitorous barbarians, or to use the force entrusted to it for self-defence and self-preservation? And what would have been the folly and debility of the Government, which would have hesitated to assert itself with vigour and decision at such a crisis? Lord Camden did not hesitate, but, as became him, issued an order on the 3d of March, to disarm the rebels in the Northern district; and if he had not issued the order, I do not scruple to say, that he would have betrayed his trust. In giving the order, he is supported by an Address nearly unanimous of both Houses of Parliament, and I might rest his justification on that Address; but as the noble Lord has roundly asserted in another place, that the order issued by Lord Camden for disarming the Northern rebels is given up to be illegal, I now meet him on the point, and am ready to maintain that the order was, not only

only strictly legal under the circumstances in which it was issued; But that Lord Camden, if he had withheld it, would have been deeply responsible for the mischiefs which must have arisen from his omission. The Constitution of these kingdoms must be strangely defective indeed if it has not in it a principle of self-preservation; I very well know that it has no such defect, and therefore, when the ordinary course of the municipal law, and the utmost exertions of civil magistrates prove ineffectual for the protection of the Constitution, and for the safety and protection of his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects; it is the bounden duty of the Executive Government to call in the aid of the military power, for the suppression of treason and rebellion, and for the safety and maintenance of the Constitution. It was upon this principle that an order was issued in 1779, to the military force of England to act, when the city of London was attacked by a fanatical banditti, who had well nigh made themselves masters of it. That order probably saved the British empire; and I have no doubt that the order issued here for disarming the Northern rebels, was essential for the salvation of the kingdom of Ireland. The Minister who issued such an order, is deeply responsible for the act, if he does it wantonly and on light grounds, he is highly criminal, but if the occasion demands such an exertion of authority for the preservation of the state, the Minister who with-holds it is responsible for all the evil which may arise from such an act of timidity. — of his responsibility Parliament is to judge. — Minister

Minister who issues such an order wantonly, or who
 is subject to impeachment,
 but the approbation of both Houses of Parliament
 is, by the Constitution of these Kingdoms, his full
 justification, either for issuing or withholding the
 order. And therefore I presume, when the noble
 Lord condemned the order issued by Lord Camden
 for dispersing the Northern rebels as a cowardly ac-
 tion, he was not apprized that it received the full,
 and nearly unanimous approbation of both Houses
 of Parliament; and, I must say, that this is, I be-
 lieve, the first instance which has occurred in the an-
 nals of the British empire, in which the King's Mi-
 nister has been called to make his defence for sup-
 pressing a rebellion, for issuing an order, when the
 Kingdom was threatened with invasion, to seize arms
 in the hands of traitors, who waited only to join
 the invaders, arms in which they had no right but
 by robbery and treason, which they used in the in-
 terval, to testify the weak into an Union with them,
 and to murder every man who had virtue and con-
 stancy to adhere to his allegiance. The noble Lord
 has been pleased on this night to disclaim any charge
 of misconduct by the army in executing this order;
 but in excusing his brother soldiers he redoubles
 his charge against the Irish Government, and im-
 puts all the assumed misconduct which he stated
 in another place, to the instructions given by Lord
 Camden to the General Officer who commands in
 that district. For the present, I pass by the singular
 apology which he has made for his brother soldiers,
 and

and put it to the noble Lord, who he had visited
to make such a motion charge against the Executive
Government, when he might have had positive infor-
mation on the subject, by moving an Address to the
Lord Lieutenant, to desire that he would be pleased
to order a copy of these instructions to be laid on the
table. I have a copy of them in my hand, and when
the noble Lord hears what they are, he will judge
whether the charges which he has advanced against
Lord Camden, have a colour of justice. [For in-
structions, see Appendix.]

In obedience to these orders, General Leake did
proceed to disarm the rebels in the Northern district,
and executed this service with all the moderation,
ability and discretion, which have always marked
his character as a gentleman and an officer, and in
executing this service, he did, amongst others, dis-
arm the rebels of the noble Lord's town of Dublin,
which, I am sorry to say, had been for some
years a main citadel of treason. In proportion to
the size, it may vie in treachery with the town of Bel-
fast. The noble Lord is of a different opinion, and
has very fairly assigned his reasons: he says, that he
explained to the tenants in the adjoining vicinity
the horrors of Republicanism, the many advantages
of the Government and Constitution under which
they live, and above all, that he explained to them
the splendid virtues of the Han-Appearant of the
crown, that they all made to him the most un-
bounded professions of loyalty in which, however, he
would not have put implicit confidence, if he had

not observed the countenance of every man to whom he had addressed himself, beam with joy and triumphant affection, when he mentioned the name and splendid virtues of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: Owing the noble Lord full credit as a physiognomist, I must conclude, if he will excuse me for a little professional pedantry, that the loyalty of his town of Ballinahinch is in *abeyance*, during the life of his present Majesty. And as the noble Lord has very fairly stated the grounds of his opinion, I will as frankly state the grounds of mine: and first let me refer the noble Lord to the War-Office, where he will find minutes of the General Court Martial, which tried and condemned several soldiers of a regiment of militia, four of whom were shot, and he will there find, that these unhappy men were seduced into a conspiracy by the people of his town of Ballinahinch, to betray to the rebels of Belfast, the military posts which it was their duty to defend, and that they were also seduced to accept of military commissions, and military rank in the revolutionary army of Belfast and Ballinahinch, which was then organized, and waited only the opportunity to come forth in battle array. Let me refer the noble Lord to General Lake, for another proof of loyalty in the town of Ballinahinch, when he summoned the inhabitants to deliver up their arms, they refused to obey him, but on being threatened with severity if they persisted in this refusal, they did deliver up their arms, and amongst other weapons, no inconsiderable number

of

of pikes—are pikes constitutional arguments for Parliamentary Reform? Are pikes emblems of loyalty? Is the sedition of the King's troops a symptom of loyalty? And are these the selfish and affectionate offerings of the noble Lord's tenants and dependents, to the rising virtues of the Heir Apparent of the crown? Does the noble Lord forget that his domestics were tainted with the general contagion? That his gardener and groom, in the presence of Mr. Hamilton, a magistrate, the noble Lord's manager and agent, acknowledged themselves to be members of the Union, and acknowledged that pikes and pike-shafts had been concealed in his timber-yard, and on searching for them, Mr. Hamilton did frankly confess his opinion, that they had been removed but the night before General Leake's arrival in the village. The noble Lord will not, I hope, suppose me to insinuate that this concealment was made with his knowledge, or countenanced by him. The most natural place for concealing pikes and pike-shafts, was the house and its appendages of his nobleman in his absence, whose servants and dependents had been seduced into a traitorous conspiracy against the state. His name and rank were very naturally supposed to cast a protection around the place of his occasional residence, and to baffle all suspicion that it was become a sanctuary of rebellion. The noble Lord stated that the imputation of disloyalty on his town of Ballinacorney, rested fully on the evidence of a man of the name of Daniel Morgan, whom he represented to have been of no other weight or consideration than an infamous

infamous character; but the noble Lord forgot to
 mention the fate of Morgan. That Daniel Morgan
 did give an information before one of the Judges of
 the Court of King's Bench, of treasons committed,
 and treasons meditated, by many of the inhabitants
 of Ballinahinch, is most true; it is equally true,
 that subsequent events have very fully verified every
 article of his information, and that he was murdered
 in consequence of the discoveries which he had pre-
 sumed to make. This unhappy man, after he had
 sworn his information, went to the town of Down-
 patrick, and was there protected for some time by a
 military guard, and having ventured to go into the
 country at the distance of some miles, on a visit to
 his wife, who had taken refuge at her father's house,
 he was murdered there, by a band of ruffians who
 came on horseback upon this mission, and it was
 distinctly ascertained, that in the night when this
 murder was committed, a number of persons had
 sallied from Ballinahinch on horseback; so that it is
 at the least highly probable, that the assassins order-
 ed upon this service, were selected from the loyalists
 of that peaceable town. Within the last two
 months, under pretence of celebrating the noble
 Lord's birth-day, the centinels on duty there were
 made drunk, and this opportunity was taken to rob
 the King's stores of some hundreds of ball-car-
 tridges, such is the state of the noble Lord's town
 of Ballinahinch, which he has been taught to be-
 lieve to be a model of sentimental and enthusiastical
 loyalty, and if he has been so grossly duped and
 misled

milled in the opinions which he has imbibed of his own immediate tenants and dependents, what must be the extent of his duplicity with respect to the country at large?

The noble Lord has thought good on this night to retract the charges originally advanced by him against the army of Ireland, and to declare that the excesses and extravagancies of which he complained, were committed under the direct and immediate orders of the Executive Government. The particular instances of military outrage adduced by the noble Lord were.—The destruction of the printing press of a newspaper, called the Northern Sear, at Belfast.—The story of a child in convulsions, whose nurse was ordered to extinguish her lights.—The picketing one, a blacksmith, and half strangling another. As to the first of these charges, in the terms in which it was originally advanced by the noble Lord, an indifferent and uninformed hearer would have imagined, that a regiment headed by its officers had at noon-day marched with drums beating and colours flying, under the eye of a General Officer at head-quarters, to demolish the house and the printing-press of a news printer, who had made himself obnoxious to the Executive Government. But what is the fact, of which the noble Lord certainly might have been fully and distinctly apprized? A regiment of militia which I am well informed, until it was cantoned at Belfast and Ballinamuck, was considered as one of the best behaved and best disciplined regiments in the service, had been cor-
rupted

rupted by traitors in both quarters; several of the
 soldiers had been especially convicted by the sentence
 of a General Court Martial, and four of them had
 been shot, upon clear evidence that they had yielded
 to the seduction practised upon them. The regi-
 ment to retrieve its character, subscribed to a fund
 for discovering and punishing any new attempt to
 seduce the soldiery, and made a declaration of de-
 termined loyalty to their King and his Government.
 A body of the soldiers attended by some non-com-
 missioned officers not on duty, went to the printer's
 office to defend that this declaration of loyalty might
 be printed in his newspaper, offering to pay for it.
 He refused to receive their advertisement, and
 accompanied his refusal with some taunting re-
 flections on the soldiers, who did at the instant,
 goaded with the recent execution of their compa-
 nions, which they attributed, perhaps, with some
 degree of reason to the poison diffused by the
 Northern Star, and with the taunting refusal of the
 Printer to receive the declaration which they would
 have published, proceeded to acts of violence against
 him, and did very nearly destroy his types and
 printing press. Colonel Leslie, who commanded
 the regiment, almost immediately interposed,
 brought off his men, and sent them upon their
 Barrack, however, whilst he was thus engaged,
 another party composed principally of yeomanry,
 who were not in uniform, again attacked the
 Printer's House, and completed the destruction of
 his types and printing press.

[24]

Lord, whether he will venture to start in the
assembly, that he believes his outrage upon mili-
tary discipline and his municipal law, to have been
contrived and committed under the immediate di-
rection of Lord Camden, and if he will venture
to make the assertion, let me ask him whether I
am to understand his apology for General Lake,
and the officers under his command to be, that they
have tamely suffered the King's representative to
pass by them; and to issue secret orders to the
soldiery under their command, to go forth as a
mob, to the utter subversion of military discipline.
Am I to understand his apology for his brother
officers to be, that they hold their military situa-
tions under a government which has maintained a
secret correspondence and communication with the
soldiery under their command, and has stimulated
them to acts of outrage, which the noble Lord
did distinctly in his first statement upon this sub-
ject, insinuate as scandalous and disgraceful to the
military character in Ireland. If this be the noble
Lord's apology for General Lake, and for the of-
ficers in command in his district, in pure respect
for them, I beg to deprecate it; and in pure re-
spect for these deserving officers, I beg of the noble
Lord to abide by his first charge against them
however ill-founded, the second instance of mili-
tary excess and extravagance, is the rigorous en-
forcement of that obnoxious badge of servitude the
Corporal's Mark. The story of the Nurse and Child I
have taken some pains to come at the truth of this
story,

I have not thought it proper to insert a list of
 the names of the persons who have been ordered to
 extinguish the lights in the neighbourhood of Down-
 patrick, at two different times, and in two different
 houses, both however situated in a proclaimed
 district; in one of these houses a child did lay in
 convulsions, and it so happened, that the officer
 who commanded the patrol, was also the regimental
 surgeon; he went into the house, and, finding
 on examination that a child did lay in convulsions,
 he suffered its parents to keep their lights burning,
 and early on the next day returned to them for
 the purpose of affording medical assistance to the
 infant. The other instance of the enforcement of
 the Curfew, happened at the house of a man of
 the name of Carlson, whose lights were burning
 after eleven o'clock; on being called to by the
 patrol to extinguish them, and not complying im-
 mediately, a soldier broke a pane of glass in one
 of his windows; and so far was Carlson from com-
 plaining of the injury, that he went the next day
 to Colonel Reinbride, who commanded at Down-
 patrick, and apologized to him for not having asked
 permission to keep his lights burning so late an
 hour, which had never been denied when he had
 applied for it; and it is a fact which I cannot avoid
 stating, that within the last week, Mr. George
 Crozier, the noble Lord's land steward and solici-
 tor at law, did press this same Mr. Carlson to fur-
 nish him with the particulars which had attended
 the grievous enforcement of the Curfew; that
 Carlson

could not find the last-mentioned description
 plain, to which Sir George's description of the
 woman furnished only the basis of a very
 extravagant, but should be dragged to the light of
 the House of Commons and examined in its true light.
 So much for the story of the nurse and child, now
 now for the story of the half-brangled and pinkette
 Blacksmith. An information had been made on oath
 before Mr. Maxwell, a magistrate, that a Black-
 smith, of the name of Hink or Shaw, had been em-
 ployed in making pike-heads, which he had manufac-
 tured in great numbers for the rebels in or about
 Downpatrick; accordingly Mr. Maxwell went out
 with a flank company under the command of a
 field officer, to search for these pike-heads; Mr.
 Maxwell apprehended the Blacksmith, who testi-
 ed positively that he had ever manufactured a
 single pike-head, the sergeant and some of the
 soldiers put a rope round his neck and drew it
 over a beam, in the hope of terrifying him into
 a confession; but he was not suspended. The Ma-
 gistrate then brought him into the town of Down-
 patrick, where the Colonel of a Fencible Regiment,
 who has died since, put him on the pikes, and he
 did immediately discover the names of several
 persons for whom he had manufactured pike-
 heads. In consequence of which discovery, near-
 ly two hundred pikes were seized or brought in
 within two days. Let me here request of the noble
 Lord to reflect on the number of probable murders
 which were prevented by this act of military severity,
 and appeal to his candour and good sense, whether

the injury done to society in putting Mr. Shaw
 and having come up with the law, and
 the price, as in any other case, to be put in competition
 with the injury which must have arisen in leaving
 the hundred pieces of his manufacture in the hands
 of the rebels and assassins of that disturbed district.
 The noble Lord can do
 more necessary acts of severity; but the executive
 government was reduced to the painful alternative
 of leaving the force entrusted to it in defence of the
 King's peaceable and well affected subjects, or of
 taking giving them up to the fury of a fierce and sa-
 vage democracy. Every man of feeling must lament
 the painful duties which we imposed on military
 officers employed in the suppression of a rebellion.
 The noble Lord was employed on this service in
 America, where he was reduced to the painful, but
 I am confident the indispensable duty of ordering a
 gentleman who bore the commission of a Colonel, to
 summary execution, without the formality of a trial.
 He will readily perceive that I allude to the case of
 Colonel Isaac Haynes, who was hanged at Charle-
 town in the year 1781. This gentleman had taken
 the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, and was re-
 forced to retire to his plantation some miles up the
 country; the use which he made of this indulgence
 was, to excite sedition, disaffection, and disturbance
 in the adjacent districts, to stir up the weak and timid
 into an Union with him, and to murder every man
 who bore constancy to resist his insinuations. Of the
 description was an Indian of the name of Crighton
 who, while he was surrounded with an armed band,
 shot and murdered him, but Crighton has

thus to make his escape to Charlestown, and
 having come up with Haynes, and being
 on the day of his death by a court of enquiry, he
 was hanged at Charlestown, by order of the noble
 Lord, and of Colonel Balfour. I state these facts from
 the printed Reports of the Debates of the British
 House of Lords, in February, 1782, and upon the
 same authority I will state, that the defence made
 for the noble Lord in that assembly by a near friend
 and connection of his was, that the Commander in
 Chief had fully approved of the execution of Colo-
 nel Haynes, and that similar executions had taken
 place in hundreds of instances during the American
 war. Let me repeat, that I do not allude to this
 of extreme military severity in any manner with a
 view to condemn it; I am confident that the noble
 Lord in issuing his order, felt that it was an act of
 his part of painful and indelible duty, and
 with that feeling in his mind, I cannot but wonder
 that the noble Lord has brought forward the story
 of the Curfew, and the story of the Inquisition, the
 story of the Duke and child, and the story of the
 blacksmith, more especially when I recollect the
 strong comment which the noble Lord has trans-
 mitted to posterity upon a proposed parliamentary
 enquiry into the execution of Colonel Balfour, as an
 unpardonable abuse, in his opinion of parliament-
 ary privilege and authority, and in his opinion of the
 noble Lord's order for the execution of the noble
 Lord in the northern district, he was entitled to con-
 sider the most distinguished and illustrious of his
 countrymen, and the noble Lord's order for the
 execution of the noble Lord, as a most distinguished

the mode by which this discovery happened, and particularly an accidental man of the name of Newell, an admitted Irishman, by profession a portrait painter, had been a member of one of the superior committees of the brotherhood; he had gone to the house of a gentleman in the county of Down, whose loyalty was unquestioned, to draw portraits of some of his family, and being prevented by sickness from attending his committee of the brotherhood for more than a fortnight, he was immediately suspected of having betrayed the secrets of the brotherhood to his employer, and marked accordingly for assassination. An attempt was made to execute this sentence upon him by night in the town of Belfast, when finding himself denounced, he did give information which enabled the executive government to seize three committees, with all their papers, in the very act of traitorous council. These papers were referred to secret committees of both Houses of Parliament, and the noble Lord acknowledges that he has read the reports made by them, but he has this night pretty plainly insinuated, that he considers the committees who made their reports, and the two houses who concurred with them, to be little more than dupes and drivellers, in as much as he has discovered, by a confession made by Newell and by another man of the name of Smith, which he has read since his last arrival in Ireland, that the evidence given by both is false and fabricated. Let me ask the noble Lord whether he has been favoured with the confession of the worthy gentleman who bribed this Smith and Newell to make such a declaration? Has the gentleman,

says, that he took of them a sort of yb chas nouns
 all what the noble Lord, with a detailed account of the
 transaction. And he Mr. Newell satisfied him in the
 Lord by his confession, that the papers seized at
 Belfast, and referred to both Houses of Parliament,
 are false and fabricated. Has Mr. Newell's con-
 fession, which the noble Lord has read, satisfied him
 that the official returns of cannon, and muskets, and
 military stores, of soldiers organized for a revolu-
 tionary army; the official plan of a revolutionary com-
 mittee; the projected scheme of massacre and con-
 fiscation, all reduced to writing, and seized upon
 three distinct committees of treason sitting in coun-
 cil, are fiction and fabrication? Has Mr. Newell's
 confession which the noble Lord has read since his last
 arrival in Ireland, satisfied him that the report of the
 committee of this House, stating that it appeared
 distinctly to them that the ambassador had been sent
 from hence by the brotherhood in the year 1795, to
 treat with the executive directory of the French
 Republic, is also mere fiction and delusion? And
 will the noble Lord gravely insinuate, that the
 Lords and Commons of Ireland are dupes and dri-
 vellers? And that the noble Lord, by his residence
 in another country, or by his occasional visits in
 Ireland, where he is surrounded by men who are
 anxious to deceive him, is now enabled to correct
 their errors and delusions? With all respects to
 the noble Lord, it is an assumption, on his part,
 to which I must take leave to enter my protest, and
 I doubt not I shall be joined by a very great majority
 of the gentlemen who for a permanent in-
 terest

interest in the safety of this country. When upon
 the reports made to both Houses of Parliament they
 voted a joint and unanimous Address to the Lord
 Lieutenant, desiring that he would direct the whole
 energy of the powers civil and military entrusted to
 him for the suppression of existing rebellion; and in
 consequence of this Address, his Excellency did
 with the advice and concurrence of his Privy Coun-
 cil, issue a Proclamation notifying to all his Majesty's
 subjects, that he had in pursuance of the joint Ad-
 dress of both Houses of Parliament, issued his or-
 ders to all executive officers civil and military to main-
 tain the public peace, and to suppress treason, rebellion
 and insurrection; and in the body of this proclama-
 tion, his Excellency did offer full pardon and indemni-
 ty to all persons who should within a reasonable time,
 I think six weeks, return to their allegiance; and
 the term for coming in was extended by a subsequent
 proclamation, I think to six weeks more. The noble
 Lord will not, I am confident, condemn a pro-
 clamiation here, thus issued under the authority of
 both Houses of Parliament, and I trust he will not
 condemn it a second time in another place. And
 when the noble Lord was pleased on this night to
 impute some of the excesses of which he complain-
 ed, to the orders or instructions given to the Com-
 mander in Chief by Lord Camden, I must again
 state to him my surprize that he should make such a
 vague and random charge against his Excellency
 when he might have had precise and accurate infor-
 mation on the subject, by moving for a copy of the
 instructions. I have in my hand a copy of Lord
 Camden's

exercised in the late year. When upon
 Camden's instructions to the Commander in Chief,
 and of his general order issued in pursuance of them,
 which I will also read to the noble Lord. (Here he
 read them, for which see Appendix.)

The vigorous measures adopted by Lord Camden,
 in which he was so fully supported by both Houses
 of Parliament, had in a great measure stopped the
 progress of rebellion, when it was again set into
 motion by a most preposterous proceeding, instituted
 by some Gentlemen of rank and fortune in the
 county of Down. Early in the last Summer, it was
 reported that a change of British Ministers was in
 agitation, and I have been well informed that a let-
 ter from a nobleman, who it was supposed would
 take a lead in the new Cabinet, was read at a tavern
 in this town to a motley assembly of United Irishmen
 and others, exhorting them to let the people of
 Ireland to work in the way of addresses to his Ma-
 jesty, for that the critical time had arrived when
 the support of the new embryo Cabinet was essential.
 And at this critical time, when the whole of the
 county of Down was proclaimed by law to be in a
 state of insurrection, and when it had recently been
 a general scene of midnight robbery, conflagration
 and murder, an advertisement appeared in the pub-
 lic prints, calling on the High Sheriff to convene
 the inhabitants of the county without distinction,
 whether insurgents or not, to meet, in order to
 frame a petition to his Majesty for the dismissal of
 his Ministers; and what seems scarcely creditable
 amongst the persons who signed this curious requisi-
 tion to the Sheriff, were the names of some Magis-

the petitioners petitioned the Right Reverend
 Bishop of Down, and the country under the signature
 of the late and the name of a Reverend Prelate
 who is now in his place on this night, for the first
 time that he has appeared there for years. The
 High Sheriff, much to his credit, refused to comply
 with the petitioners' requisition made to him to col-
 lect the signatures of the county of Down by colour
 of his authority; and the gentlemen who had form-
 ed this project for bringing together a body of ten
 or twenty thousand of them, gave it up, as they
 professed, only from an apprehension that such a
 tumultuous assembly would have been dispersed by
 the Magistrates. But the petition was framed, and,
 if I have been well informed, that Reverend Prelate
 not only signed it, but did without reserve solicit sig-
 natures to it; and if I have been well informed, a
 clergyman of the established Church, a member of the
 Chapter of the Cathedral of Down, did read this pe-
 tition from the pulpit in a Dissenter's Meeting-house,
 and publicly solicit his auditory to put their names to
 it. I mention this circumstance in the hearing of that
 Reverend Prelate, that he may enquire into it at his
 next visitation, and if he finds that such an act of
 profane audacity was committed by a member of
 his Chapter, he may inflict a censure upon him ade-
 quate to his offence. This petition has appeared in
 all the public prints; it sets out by a complaint that
 the war and the misconduct of Ministers have de-
 stroyed the manufactures and the trade of this dis-
 trict. It is a discovery relieved for that generous
 people, and his more sagacious concern, that a

way which has increased the quantity of linen and
 raised the demand for Irish linen. But how does
 the fact bear itself out in this assertion? The value of
 linen exported from Ireland in the four years prior
 to the war, from 1782, to 1791, inclusive, is three
 millions four hundred and fifty-eight thousand two
 hundred and ten pounds, and the value for the four
 subsequent years, from 1792, to 1795, inclusive, is
 three millions six hundred and sixty-two thousand
 one hundred and fifty-five pounds; so that it ap-
 pears distinctly, that in the four first years of the
 war the linen manufacture, the staple of Ireland,
 and the only manufacture of the Northern district,
 has increased to the amount in value of more than
 two millions two hundred thousand pounds, over
 and above the amount of it in the four correspond-
 ing years prior to the war; and in the year 1796,
 which I have not taken into this calculation, the
 value of linen exported, was three millions one hun-
 dred and thirteen thousand six hundred and eighty-
 seven pounds, a sum infinitely greater than the exports
 had ever before amounted to in any one year, since the
 linen manufacture was first established in Ireland. So
 much for the quantity of that Renowned Production
 and its so-potential in this first offering awarded
 by Great Britain to the foot of the Throne. It is perfectly
 true, that in the last year, (1797) the exports of
 Irish linen were ten millions of yards; but if the
 Right Hon. Friend and his colleagues, had thought
 fit to have been to his Majesty, they would have
 found, that the linen weavers of the county of
 Down, had altogether defaced their looms, and

addicted themselves to politics, they would have
 assisted to his Majesty that they had exchanged their
 Shuttles for Pikes and muskets and cannon; that
 their nights were devoted to every species of excess
 and outrage, and therefore, that a total stop was
 put to sober and honest exertion amongst the
 lower order of the people; and if the Right Rev.
 Prelate and his complices had told truth to his Ma-
 jesty, they would have stated, that their petition,
 fraught as it is with virulent falsehood and misre-
 presentation, had been hawked about the country
 for the mischievous purpose of enflaming the minds
 of the people, and of diverting them from ha-
 bits of sober industry and submission to the laws,
 and that this wise and patriotic effort has had its
 full effect. With equal veracity it is stated to his Ma-
 jesty, that the commerce of that district has been
 annihilated by the war and by the misconduct of Mi-
 nisters; how does the fact bear them out in this
 assertion? By official returns from the commission-
 ers of the customs it appears, that the customs of
 the port of Belfast, for the four years of the war
 compared with the four corresponding years prior
 to it, have not fallen, on an average, quite seven
 thousand pounds a year, although the importa-
 tion of foreign spirits has almost wholly ceased,
 and although it is perfectly notorious, that since the
 year 1791, the town of Belfast has been a citadel
 of treason, a circumstance not much in favour of
 its credit in foreign countries; perhaps the Right
 Rev. Prelate will tell me, that the representation to
 his Majesty went not to any particular district, but

to the kingdom at large; here again I mention with official documents, from which it appears that, on a comparative view of the state of Ireland, exports and imports, during eight years, ended at Lady-day 1797, there is an accruing balance in her favour of more than six millions five hundred and forty thousand pounds; and the increase of her tonnage has been seventeen thousand eight hundred seventy-two tons in the same period. This is the country, whose trade and manufactures the Right Reverend Prelate represents to his Sovereign, as annihilated by the war and by the misconduct of ministers; this is the country which he represents to his Sovereign as sinking under the weight of misgovernment; this is the country which his Sovereign is to rescue from impending ruin only, by a radical parliamentary reform. But what will that Right Reverend Prelate say for himself in having joined in a representation to his Majesty, that the *most constitutional and loyal means of seeking redress*, have been opposed by the most constitutional and illegal coercions. What will that Right Reverend Prelate, a Bishop of the established Church, say for himself, in having thus justified to his flock an organized system of murder and robbery, and midnight conflagration, as the most unconstitutional and loyal means of seeking redress, and in approaching his Sovereign with this premeditated and unblushing imposition. And is there salvation for a country, in which gentlemen of rank and fortune, headed by a Christian Bishop, can be misled into such

acts

acts of criminal folly and levity, not to bestow upon them a harsher epithet. About the same period a similar act of wisdom was committed in the county of Kildare, and a similar petition was hawked about that county for signatures, to which it is said the name of a mendicant cripple is affixed, whose station for more than twenty years has been on the high way at half a mile's distance from Naas, and who must be familiar to every gentleman that has travelled on the southern road; and I have been informed, by unquestioned authority, that a peer of the realm did spend an entire day in the little town of Leixlip soliciting signatures to this petition, and that his canyas was retarded more than an hour by a blacksmith, who resisted the importunities practised upon him to forsake his hammer and his anvil, and to addict himself to the politics of his noble preceptor. What was the consequence of this act of criminal folly in the county of Kildare? From a state of perfect tranquillity and good order, it became almost immediately a scene of general tumult and outrage, insomuch that the resident gentlemen were compelled to seek for safety and protection by maintaining regular military garrisons in their houses, and fortifying every part of them, which was open to assault, and such was the base and brutal spirit of the insurgents, that their best benefactors were marked for destruction. Mr. Conolly, who had spent the whole of his life and a princely fortune amongst them, who was more than seconded in acts of unbounded charity and benevolence by that excellent

excellent woman, who, if perfection be the lot of
 human nature, is a model of it; who has employed
 the whole of her life in administering comfort to the
 poor in a district of miles around her, as if they
 were members of her family, who has fed the hungry
 and clothed the naked, and healed the sick,
 and brought up their children in the ways of reli-
 gion and virtue, and honest industry; Mr. Conolly
 and this most excellent lady were marked as the ob-
 jects of plunder and destruction, by the wretches
 who had existed for a course of more than thirty
 years by their bounty. And this gentleman and his
 lady, who have thus devoted their lives, and a great
 and princely fortune, to acts of unbounded benevo-
 lence in a circuit of miles around them, are at this
 moment indebted for personal safety in their mansion-
 house, to the protection of a military guard; and
 dare not make use of the lower apartments in it, un-
 der the apprehension of a midnight salute of mul-
 quetry. And the noble Lord may rest assured, if
 he should return to his country residence in Ireland,
 he may meet the fate from the loyalists of Ballyna-
 hinch which was intended for Mr. Conolly by gen-
 tlemen of the fine stamp at Celbridge.
 Notwithstanding the patriotic efforts of some wor-
 thy and reverend gentlemen in the county of Down,
 to persuade the people that their commerce and man-
 ufactures were annihilated, and that the acts of
 outrage and rebellion into which they were led,
 are the most loyal and constitutional means of re-
 dress, order and tranquillity were restored in the
 course

course of the last Summer in a considerable part of that district; a very great number of destructive weapons had been seized and secured in the King's stores. In the county of Down and the adjacent district, more than four thousand pikes, several thousands of fire-arms, two small pieces of cannon and a howitzer. And in another district, a noble Lord who sits near me was enabled to seize twelve hundred pikes, and two pieces of cannon, six pounders. The people were returning fast to habits of industry, and confidence was so far restored, that justice had in some of the disturbed counties resumed its course; infomuch that several persons were capitally convicted of treason and murder, others of administering unlawful and treasonable oaths,—amongst the latter, a man of better rank in society, of the name of William Orr. Instantly a new revolutionary engine was set at work, and the administration of justice was systematically libelled in all its departments; a newspaper has been set up in the metropolis, if report is to be credited, at the suit of a young gentleman who may one day have a seat in this House, systematically to degrade the administration of justice; and this Mr. William Orr has been publicly held out as a martyr, and a victim sacrificed by the Executive Government in violation of criminal justice; and a gentleman, whom I believe the people of England have the happiness to behold as one of their representatives, has with equal decency and wisdom, at a late drunken tavern meeting in another country, given by way of senti-

mental

mental toast, "the memory of William Orr, who was basely murdered in Ireland;" and his neighbour, not to be outdone in wisdom and discretion by this worthy senator, announced to the chairman his sentiment, "that the Irish Cabinet may soon take the place of Mr. Orr." I have informed myself accurately of the circumstances which attended this unhappy man's conviction, which I will state, and as I state them in the hearing of the noble and learned Lord who sat upon his trial, If I should commit any the most trivial mistake, I have no doubt he will set me right: he was indicted for administering an unlawful oath to two soldiers of the names of Whearty and Lindsay, an oath certainly intended to seduce them from their duty; what led to the discovery of their seduction was; the seizure of some official papers at Londonderry, upon a committee of United Irishmen, in which these two soldiers were returned by name by one of their corresponding committees, as *being up*, which is the cant phrase of the brotherhood to describe its members: these men were immediately seized by their officers, and examined separately, and on their examination, they both agreed in the detail of their evidence, and having sworn information before a magistrate against Mr. Orr, for administering an oath of seduction to them, he was arrested, and brought to trial. On his trial both the soldiers were examined, and proved distinctly, that Orr had administered the oath to them in the presence of several persons, whom they named: and after a long and puzzling cross examination

nation, as I am informed, nothing appeared which
 could impeach their testimony. An attempt was
 made by the prisoner, in his defence, to impeach
 the credit of one of them, I think of Wheatly, in
 which he failed completely; that the learned Lord
 who presided at the trial could not even take down
 this evidence on his note book; but no attempt
 whatever was made at or after the trial, to impeach
 the credit or to invalidate the testimony of Lindsay;
 and although both the soldiers named several persons
 who had been present when they were sworn by the
 prisoner, not one of them was produced on his part
 or examined in contradiction of the soldiers. On
 this evidence the jury found him guilty, and re-
 commended him to mercy; the next day a motion
 was made in arrest of judgment, and to the scandal
 and disgrace of the profession to which I belong, in
 a partial and garbled report of the trial of this un-
 happy man, which every lawyer who reads it must
 see is the production of a barrister, the public are
 given to understand that there was but one count
 in the indictment to which the objection was made
 in arrest of judgment; and the public are also given
 to understand that this unhappy man was tried and
 convicted under an expired statute, although it is
 clear at any point could be, that the original statute
 would not have expired till the end of this session
 of parliament; and an act had passed last year for
 explaining and amending it, which is altogether
 suppressed, and although these were the counts in
 the indictment, to all of which the evidence was

trial equally applied, and two of them were submitted to by the prisoner's counsel, and the third was circum-
 stance also suppressed; and in the same published and
 and mutilated report, an affidavit of the jurymen is printed, that whiskey was introduced into the
 the jury-room, and that they were drunk when they gave their verdict, and to the scandal and disgrace of an
 of an honourable profession, in the same report, one of the
 of the prisoner's counsel is represented as having stated this affidavit in open Court, on the fifth of
 tence of moving the Court of Oyer and Terminer for an attachment against these Jurymen, upon the
 voluntary affidavit which they had been prevailed upon to make, accusing themselves of having given their
 their verdict in a state of intoxication, and in the same report a voluntary affidavit of a dissenting
 Clergyman, taken most improperly by a Magistrate after Orr's conviction, is also printed, in which he
 states some time since he attended Wheatley at the village of Rathmark in a sick bed, when he confessed that he had committed a number of crimes, and amongst others the crime of perjury; and in the same affidavit he describes Wheatley pretty plainly as being in a state of mental derangement when he made this confession. On the return of the learned Lord Justice, he said the recommendation of the jury before the Lord Lieutenant, and being asked by His Excellency whether he had a doubt on his mind as to the guilt of Mr. Orr, and whether he would join in recommending him to mercy, he learned Lord declared he had no doubt on his own

of the guilt of this unhappy man, and that
he would not recommend him to mercy consistently
with his duty. His Excellency, notwithstanding
this declaration of the learned Lord, respite Mr.
Orr, to give time for enquiry whether any justifiable
ground could be laid for extending mercy to him;
and finding that nothing could be substantiated to
shake the justice of his conviction, the unhappy man
was left for execution. The affidavits which I have
stated never were laid before the Lord Lieutenant;
but if they had, is there a man with a trace of the
principles of justice in his mind, who will say that
such affidavits ought to be attended to? Is it to be
supposed that a Judge would receive a verdict from
a jury in a state of intoxication? Or was it even
heard that a jurymen was received, by voluntary af-
fidavit, to impeach a verdict in which he had con-
curred? Will any man with a trace of criminal jus-
tice in his mind say, that a voluntary affidavit of a
person not produced, unexamined at the trial, ought
to be received after conviction, to impeach the
credit of a witness who was examined and cross-
examined, and whose credit stood unimpeached by
legal evidence? If such an affidavit were to lay the
necessary foundation of a pardon after conviction,
I will venture to say there is no man who may be
convicted hereafter of any crime, however atrocious,
that will not be able to obtain a similar affidavit.
I wish Magistrates to know, that in taking such af-
fidavits, they are guilty of a gross breach of duty;
they have no jurisdiction or authority to administer
voluntary

voluntary oaths or to take voluntary affidavits. The person who takes such an oath, or makes such an affidavit, cannot be convicted of perjury if he swears falsely; and, I am sorry to say, that it is a common practice in Magistrates to sign instruments which are called affidavits, without obliging the persons who sign them to make oath as to the truth of their contents. If a doubt could be entertained upon the evidence given on his trial of the guilt of Mr. Orr, his dying declaration seems to me to be a plain confession of it; he is made to declare generally that the soldiers who accused him were forsworn, but for this general declaration he had this plain subterfuge,—that *he* had administered an oath to them, not to give evidence against any brother of the Union. He seems distinctly to avow the offence of which he was convicted, and to deny the justice and authority of the statute which makes it a capital crime. The fact is, that this unhappy man was a principal and confidential member of the brotherhood, and his execution was considered a fatal blow to the cause of treason; and therefore it is that all this outcry has been raised, in the hope of doing away the effects of such an example, and of terrifying judges from discharging their duty, and the executive Government from presuming to withhold pardon from any leading member of the brotherhood who may hereafter be convicted. The wretched beings of the inferior orders whom they seduce, are consigned to their fate without remorse or murmur.

Soon after the execution of Mr. Orr, a most
scurrilous libel was published on the judge who had
tried him; and on his Excellency the Lord Lieuten-
ant, for suffering justice to take its course; and a
wretched printer of the name of Finerty, who had
been put forward to swear himself the sole proprie-
tor of the newspaper in which it was published, was
tried and convicted, and sentenced to the pillory and
imprisonment on an indictment for the publication:
and in order to do away the effects of this example,
a new expedient was devised; a libel infinitely more
flagrant and mischievous was immediately circulated
in pamphlets and newspapers, as the speech of one
of his Majesty's Council, delivered by way of de-
fence for the printer on his trial: I will not believe
that an honourable profession has been scandalized
and degraded by the delivery of such a farrago of
falsehood and sedition in a court of justice: I will
not believe that any gentleman who wears the gown
of that honourable profession, could be found to in-
sinuate broadly to the jury who were to give a ver-
dict on the trial of his client, that they were packed
and garbled, because the sheriff by whom they were
impannelled derived his authority from the crown:
I will not believe that any gentleman of that honour-
able profession would venture to state distinctly, that
his client could expect from the judge to whom he
addressed himself, at best, but a cold and inanimate
statement of facts, and the law arising from them,
thus in plain terms insinuating, in the true spirit of
the brotherhood, that the sources of criminal jus-
tice,

life are poisonous and corrupted. No, in their rage for degrading the administration of justice, they would blast the character of their retained advocate, by falsely and foully representing him as sacrificing his miserable client to the cause of sedition and treason, and by imputing a libel to him for which the author ought to have accompanied Mr. Finerty on the pillory.

I trust the noble Lord has heard enough on this night to open his eyes with respect to the state of the kingdom of Ireland. But if any thing is wanting to flash conviction on his mind, of the disloyalty and treason of the Irish Union, let him look to what is now passing in the southern and midland districts; during all the disturbances which prevailed in other parts of the kingdom, we were in a state of profound tranquillity and contentment there; the farmers had already tasted the sweets of sober industry; agriculture was encreasing most rapidly, and the country wore the face of wealth, and comfort and happiness; nay, more, the condition of the lowest order of the peasantry was meliorated in a degree that I never flattered myself I should have lived to witness: we never heard there of parliamentary reform or Catholic emancipation; and if the noble Lord was to talk of either to a farmer or a peasant of the southern or western Province, he would comprehend him as little as he would understand the quotation from Pully which his Lordship has just now made, when the enemy appeared on the coast in the last year, a general

and sentiment of loyalty prevailed in all ranks and
 degrees of the people, who vied with each other
 in contributing to defend their country against
 the invaders; on the report of general Hoche, at
 his return to France, of this unexpected loyalty in
 the people of Ireland, the ambassadors of the Irish
 Union resident at Paris, were reproached with hav-
 ing imposed upon the directory, and in conse-
 quence of this reproach, instructions were trans-
 mitted to the Irish directory to organize the south
 of Ireland, as they had organized the north; and
 accordingly emissaries have been employed to se-
 duce the people of that district with so much suc-
 cess, that there has been a sudden and immediate
 transition in almost every part of the Province of
 Munster, and also in many counties in Leinster, from
 peace and good order, and contentment to general tu-
 mult and outrage, and every species of cruelty and
 barbarism. Will the noble Lord say, that the pre-
 sent disturbed state of the southern district is to be
 imputed to the system of coercion, as he calls it,
 acted upon by the government of Ireland, and en-
 couraged by the British Cabinet? Coercion, as
 he calls it, was never put into practice there, 'till
 unhappily the recent seduction of the giddy
 and deluded people of that district compelled
 the magistrates and resident gentlemen to fly for
 refuge to the executive government, and to call for the
 extension of the insurrection act in their own defence.
 But I make no doubt that we shall soon be told by
 some of the noble Lord's political friends in Great
 Britain,

Britain, that the miserable inhabitants of the south
 of Ireland have been goaded to insurrection by the
 system of coercion, and that they have only fought
 for Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipa-
 tion by the most loyal and constitutional means; and
 certainly this story may be told of the people of the
 south, with the same degree of truth with which it
 has been propagated by the injured inhabitants of
 the north. Let me now make a serious and solemn
 appeal to the noble Lord; let me call upon him to
 state distinctly and unequivocally whether he believes
 there is at this hour an organized and extended
 system of treason rooted in the kingdom of Ireland?
 If he answers that he does not believe it, let me ask
 him what he considers to be symptoms or proofs of
 treason? Does he consider the project of levying a
 revolutionary army a proof of treason; does he con-
 sider the seduction of the King's troops a proof of
 treason; does he consider a conspiracy to seize the
 King's forts and arsenals a proof of treason. Such
 a conspiracy was detected within the last month at
 Athlone. Does he consider the formation of secret
 depots of arms and ammunition a proof of treason;
 does he consider the concealment of cannon as a proof
 of treason; does he consider the distribution of
 pikes amongst the lowest order of the people a proof
 of treason; Does he consider the mystical revolution-
 ary Government of the Irish Union as a proof of
 treason: does he consider a regular correspondence
 carried on by the Executive Directory of the Union
 with the King's enemies to be a proof of treason.
 Britain The

The fact is so notorious that I must suppose the noble Lord has heard that there now is and has been for a considerable time an accredited Minister Plenipotentiary of the Irish Directory resident at Dublin, a man who received the full powers of his commission in a seminary of Jesuits, and completed it in the office of an Attorney in Law. The noble Lord has I presume also heard that the Irish Directory had three accredited Ministers resident at Lifford during the late negotiation for peace, to counterbalance the King's Minister Lord Malmesbury. To make no doubt the noble Lord would recognize these gentlemen if this were to hear their names, as they are all natives of Belfast. And let me ask the Noble Lord whether he has come expressly to this kingdom, solely to recommend to us to oppose conciliation, to rebellion, to oppose cannon pikes with concession and sentiment and romance and fine feeling. If the noble Lord had been so opposed in America, there can be no doubt what would have been the event of his campaigns. But if the noble Lord has so much confidence in conciliation, he certainly has not commenced his operations with judgment, he should have set out by making his proposition to the Directory of the Union, and first let me ask him whether he knows of whom the Directory is composed; if he does, he will do a very signal service to the nation by disclosing their names. I suspect very strongly that the noble Lord has seen and communicated with some of them since his last arrival in Ireland, not officially as Members of the Directory, for I am

pretty confident they would feel the same reluctance in community officially with the noble Lord, that they would feel in community with me; but as members of the head committee of grievances, appointed to collect materials for this long expected debate, I am apt to suspect that some of the Directory may have rendered their services to the noble Lord. If they will negotiate with him, he will find the event to be that we shall be desired, by way of preliminary, to lay down our arms, to restore to the Union all the arms and ammunition which we have taken from them; to repeal the test laws and the act of supremacy, and to give them a Democratic House of Commons upon the basis of general suffrage, and when the preliminaries are conceded, in the true spirit of their brethren of France, they will tell us what further concessions they may have to demand.

I fear I have exhausted your Lordships' patience, and I have very nearly exhausted my strength. But, before I sit down, I must very shortly advert to the system of conciliation which the noble Lord has recommended, and first to the system of Emancipation; a phrase I must say of equal wickedness and folly, when applied to any class of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom. Does the noble Lord know that the whole code of the popery laws enacted since the Revolution has been repealed; and that there is not at this hour a single disability affecting a Papist or Roman Catholic, save one, that is a restriction in the use of fire-arms to men possessed of a freehold of the yearly value of ten pounds, or

modern cant of Emancipation is applied to the test
 it a personal estate, I think, of three hundred pounds
 in value, a restriction which I sincerely wish was ex-
 tended to all his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom
 without distinction; and therefore when the noble
 Lords talk of emancipating the Papists of Ireland, or
 of restoring them to the benefits of the Constitution,
 he does not speak with all the accuracy which might
 be expected of him; I know of no word more fre-
 quently in use than the Constitution, nor of any
 which is so often absent. I will state to the noble
 Lord what my notions are of the British Constitu-
 tion; and if I am mistaken he will set me right. A
 Government springs from it which affords equal pro-
 tection to all his Majesty's subjects in their charac-
 ters, their lives, their liberties, and their property.
 Will the noble Lord say, that the character, the life,
 the liberty, and the property of a Roman Catholic
 have not the same protection from the law in this
 kingdom, that it is extended to every other member
 of the Community?
 I take it to be a vital principle of the consti-
 tution that the church and state are intimately
 and inseparably united, clinging both to the other
 for support, and therefore it is, that every subject
 in these kingdoms is bound by laws coeval with
 the constitution as now established, before he can
 be admitted to the exercise of any efficient power
 ecclesiastical or civil derived under it, to give a
 solemn and unequivocal pledge of his allegiance to
 the establishment in Church and State; laws which
 bind us all indifferently, and therefore, when the
 modern

modern cant of Emancipation is applied to the test laws, it seems to be a distinct avowal by those who use it, that this breach of political Reform means nothing short of Revolution. The altar is the main pillar of the throne, and if we shall ever be so mad as to repeal the laws made to guard our ecclesiastical establishment, we shall in my opinion at the same moment shake to its foundation the British monarchy. Till the area of modern illumination, it never was supposed that a limited monarchy could exist without test laws; that they were essential to maintain the constitutional balance between the different powers of which our Government is composed, to prevent the Crown from committing the judicial and ministerial powers of the State to disaffected persons, and to prevent the people from committing the great and extensive powers exercised by their representatives, to persons of the same description. The founders of the Irish Union had sagacity to see that the first necessary step in their plan of Revolution, was to abolish all religious distinctions in the State, and it baffles all human calculation to discover any sound principle upon which we have heretofore acted, in outstripping them in advances to the attainment of this their favourite object. When the noble Lord adopts the modern system of Emancipation, I wish he would bring the subject forward distinctly, and let us view it in all its bearings: I should thank him to bring forward a detailed and practicable plan of rational Government, under his proposed system for the establishment in Church and State; laws which bind us all indifferently, and therefore

emancipation, that he would first show us the
 practicability of repealing the act of supremacy;
 an act which annexes the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in
 Ireland to the imperial crown of England. I should
 thank him to explain how the repeal of this act is
 practicable, without the authority of a British sta-
 tute, authorising the Keeper of the Great Seal in
 England to affix it to an act, for making partition
 of this jurisdiction in Ireland with his Holiness the
 Pope: and if the two Houses of Parliament in
 Great Britain shall pass such an act, I shall thank
 the noble Lord for his solution of another difficulty,
 and that is, in what manner his Majesty can be en-
 abled to assent to an act giving such an authority to
 the Keeper of the Great Seal, or to an act repealing
 the act of supremacy, consistently with the statute
 limiting the Crown to the House of Hanover, or
 with the coronation oath; and, above all, I shall
 thank the noble Lord, if his plan of emancipation
 should take place, to explain his nostrum for main-
 taining a Protestant church by a Popish State, and
 to explain his new system of ecclesiastical jurispru-
 dence, to be administered by judges who deny the
 source of all existing ecclesiastical authority in these
 kingdoms. If there ever was a subject which ought
 to be treated with an anxious and trembling caution,
 it is this subject of Catholic claim and demand of
 exemption from the test laws and act of supremacy.
 But caution and sober deliberation have been con-
 temptuously disclaimed: the people have been told
 from high popular authority, that they should by no
 means

nease forego the opportunity of the war in making their claims; that they should instantly embrace and greatly emancipate, and that they must extinguish all members of the community who are startled by this magnificent project, or they will be extinguished by them. I might perhaps be excused for speaking with some degree of warmth on this subject, for I was within a hair's breadth of being extinguished, immediately after this sublime lesson of great emancipation and general extinguishment was promulgated.

Upon the subject of emancipation, will the noble Lord allow me to make a very earnest request to him, and if he will indulge me in it, I shall really acknowledge myself deeply indebted to him; will the noble Lord have the goodness on his return to Great Britain, to oblige me, by proposing a repeal of the test laws and the act of supremacy in the British House of Lords? I am pretty confident the noble Lord will not grant me this request; and he will not grant it, because he knows, that if he were to make such a proposition there, he would soon learn, that it is treason to the British Constitution. He would there be taught to know that the House of Stewart was expelled the British throne for a similar attempt, and that any man who should dare to propose such a repeal in the British Parliament, did by the proposition, condemn the title of the illustrious house of our Monarch to the British throne. If the noble Lord were to talk of repealing the test laws, and the act of supremacy in Great Britain, by way

way of conciliation, he would be told, that he re-
 tailed the fulsome cant of James's memorable decla-
 ration for liberty of conscience; and I wish the no-
 ble Lord to read that famous proclamation, in which
 he will find the stale and flimsy pretext of concilia-
 ting and uniting men of all religious persuasions, in
 the support of Government and the Constitution,
 held out to the people of England by that deluded
 bigot, to reconcile them to the introduction of Pa-
 rists into both Houses of Parliament, and into the
 efficient offices of the state, civil and military.

Upon the second head of the noble Lord's conci-
 liatory project, I shall say but little; the opinions of
 the noble Lord upon this subject seem to have re-
 ceived a very sudden twist since his last arrival in
 Ireland. The noble Lord has stated this night, that
 his opinion recently and publicly delivered upon
 this subject, was confined altogether to Parliamen-
 tary Reform, in Great Britain; I must therefore
 conclude, that such was the noble Lord's reserva-
 tion when he delivered that opinion, although it was
 delivered without reservation or qualification, in a
 debate introduced by him exclusively on the subject
 of Ireland; but as the noble Lord still avows his dis-
 approbation of Parliamentary Reform in Great Bri-
 tain, as a measure at best doubtful in point of ad-
 vantage, and imminently hazardous in the probable
 consequences: let me now put it to him, how infi-
 nitely more hazardous and critical will be the expe-
 riment in this kingdom. If the noble Lord will
 look at the political situation of Great Britain and
 Ireland

way of conciliation, he would be told, that he re-
 Ireland, connected under one common Sovereign,
 each country governed by a Parliament perfectly
 distinct from and independent of the other, the im-
 perial system for both kingdoms, will appear to be
 the most critical and complicated that has ever ex-
 isted in Europe: to a common observer it would
 appear to be utterly impracticable: however, expe-
 rience has proved, that in the midst of popular turbu-
 lence, and in the convulsion of rancorous and violent
 party contents, the Irish Parliament as it is now con-
 stituted, is fully competent to all practical and bene-
 ficial purposes of Government; that it is fully com-
 petent to protect this, which is the weaker country,
 against encroachment, and to save the empire from
 dissolution, by maintaining the constitutional con-
 nection of Ireland with the British Crown. And,
 therefore, if the noble Lord feels the imminent ha-
 zard of innovation in the Constitution of Great
 Britain, how much more cautious ought he to be of
 making experiments in Ireland, more particularly
 when they have been first devised for the avowed
 purpose of destroying the subtle and attractive prin-
 ciples of adhesion, which have heretofore preserved
 the empire from dissolution. But let me suppose for
 a moment that the noble Lord's conciliatory system
 was free from difficulty or objection, will he, as a
 statesman, seriously recommend to the Irish Parlia-
 ment to yield to rebellion the claimed redress of spe-
 culative political grievances? Will the noble Lord,
 as a statesman, recommend to us as a measure of
 sound policy, to repeal our test laws and act of su-
 premacy,

premacy, and to reform the other House of Parlia-
 ment, in the hope by such an act of conciliation and
 concession, to put down a determined rebellion? If
 we are to make such a precedent for the encourage-
 ment of rebellion, I beg of the noble Lord to say
 where are we to draw the line; and if he will not
 subscribe to my opinion on this subject, I beg to re-
 fer him to a Right Hon. Gentleman in another coun-
 try, of the first ability as a statesman, who, in the
 year 1783, did most emphatically declare his opi-
 nion as a Cabinet-minister, that the existence of le-
 gitimate government in Ireland depended on the dis-
 persion of a military convention, then assembled for
 the reform of Parliament, and on the indignant re-
 jection of any proposition which they might presume
 to make upon the subject. In that convention I will
 venture to say there was not a single rebel; there
 was not a member of it who would not willingly
 have shed his blood in the defence of his Sovereign
 and of the constitution. But I did then agree with
 that Right Hon. Gentleman, that there must be an
 end of all legitimate government, if political claims
 are to be advanced at the point of the bayonet; and
 if I did at that period refuse to listen to a proposition
 for parliamentary reform, made to the House of
 Commons by a military convention, composed of
 very worthy gentlemen, who had been giddily be-
 trayed into such an act of indiscretion, I will not
 now listen to much more extravagant claims
 pressed upon me under the terror of impend-
 ing rebellion. If the conciliatory system re-
 commended

commended by the Noble Lord is to be debated on its intrinsic merits. Let me advise him to apply to the Directory of the Irish Union in the first instance; let the Directory withdraw their minister plenipotentiary from Paris; let them dissolve their Revolutionary Government at home; let them deliver up their cannon and pikes which have heretofore escaped the vigilance of civil and military officers; let them withdraw their emissaries who have been sent forth to seduce the people from their allegiance, and absolve them from the treasonable engagements with which they have been seduced; and let them then submit their claims and their grievances to calm discussion by the Legislature.

I will once more appeal to the Noble Lord, and call upon him to wave all vague and general questions, and to state distinctly the grievance, if it exists, of which the people of Ireland can with justice complain against the British Government, the British Parliament, or the British Nation; or against the Government or Parliament of their own country. In 1779 they demanded a free trade, and it was granted to them. In 1781 they were called upon to state the measure of their grievances, and the redress which they demanded; and redress was granted to the full extent of their demands. In 1783 they were dissatisfied with the redress which they had obtained, and acknowledged to be incomplete and unsatisfactory, and it was extended to the terms of their new demands. In 1785 they demanded a commercial treaty with Great Britain, and the whole

them a fair and liberal offer which they were
pleased to reject with childish folly. In 1789 they
demanded a place bill, a pension bill, and a re-
sponsibility bill as necessary to secure the Constitution
established in Great Britain and Ireland in 1688,
and renewed in Ireland in 1782, which they pledged
themselves to support to the last drop of their blood.
They had their place bill, and their pension bill, and
their responsibility bill, and much more than they
had ever demanded upon that score; for his Majesty
was pleased to surrender his hereditary revenue, and
to accept a civil establishment for his life, by which
Parliament was enabled to make a general appropri-
ation of the revenues, and to limit the Crown in
granting pensions; and his Majesty was also pleased
to put the office of Lord Treasurer into commission;
and by these regulations they obtained the same
security for the Constitution as established at the Re-
volution in 1688 which the people of Great Britain
enjoy, and at the time when this security was given
to them, the Parliament of Great Britain repealed
and explained the British navigation laws by which
we were prohibited from exporting the produce
of the British colonies and plantations from this
country to Great Britain, a boon of all others
the most essential to our foreign trade, for by
it we have the certain issue of the British market for
any surplus of plantation goods imported into Ireland
above our own consumption. About the same pe-
riod every disability which had affected Irish Papists
was removed, save a restriction in the use of fire-
arms,

were a fair and liberal offer which they were
 made, which extends only to the lowest order of the
 people; and sober and thinking men might reason-
 ably have hoped that the stock of grievances was
 exhausted, and that they might have been allowed
 some short respite from popular ferment. In this
 expectation, however, we have been deceived, and
 when every other topic of discontent had failed, the
 government and constitution, as established at the
 Revolution, has been discovered by the gentlemen
 who pledged themselves in 1789 to defend and main-
 tain it to the last drop of their blood, to be a slavish
 monopoly, inconsistent with the civil and religious
 liberties of the people. And is the noble Lord so
 credulous in this instance as to suppose that if this
 new project should succeed, and the slavish mono-
 poly of the Revolution was abolished, the account of
 grievances would be closed—*Uno armis non deficit
 alter, & simili frondescit Virga metallo.*

If the noble Lord wishes to know the genuine
 source of offensive Irish grievances, he will be ena-
 bled to trace it to some of his political friends and
 connections in Great Britain and Ireland. The ge-
 nuine source of Irish complaint against the British
 government is, that they will not second the ambi-
 tious views of some gentlemen who claim an exclusive
 right to guide the public mind, and to monopolize
 to themselves and their dependants the power and
 patronage of the Crown. The genuine cause of
 complaint against the British Cabinet is, that they
 will not suffer these gentlemen to erect an aristocra-
 tic power in Ireland which shall enable them to dic-

state to the Crown and the People, which shall en-
 able them to direct and controul the Administration
 of Great Britain, by making the government of this
 country impracticable by any but their political
 friends and allies. Upon what just grounds these ar-
 rogant pretensions are advanced, I have not as yet
 been enabled to discover. I am willing to give the
 noble Lord full credit for the sincerity of his profes-
 sions, and to believe that his object is to tranquillize
 this giddy and distracted country, and therefore: I
 will take the liberty most earnestly to advise him
 not to renew the strange exaggerated statements
 which he has been in the habit of making on Irish af-
 fairs in the British House of Lords, where they can
 have no other effect than mischief. Let me advise
 him also most earnestly to exert the influence which
 his high name and character must give him with his
 political connections in Great Britain, to induce
 them to confine their political warfare to the the-
 atre of their own country, and to cease to dabble in
 dirty Irish faction. It is one great misfortune of this
 country that the people of England know less of it,
 than they know perhaps of any other nation in Eu-
 rope. Their impressions I do verily believe to be
 received from newspapers, published for the sole
 purpose of deceiving them. There is not so volatile
 nor so credulous a nation in Europe as the Irish;
 the people are naturally well disposed, but are more
 open to seduction than any man would credit, who
 had not lived amongst them. If I am to speak
 without disguise, civilization has not made any con-
 siderable

scandalous progress amongst him, and therefore the
kingdom of Ireland is, of all the nations of Europe,
the most dangerous to tamper with, or to make ex-
periments upon. Her present disturbed and dis-
tracted state has certainly been the consequence of a
series of experiments practised upon her for a course
of years. If the gentlemen of Ireland who have a
permanent interest in the safety of the State, could
be prevailed upon to adjourn their political quarrels
and resentments to a period when they might be re-
newed, without endangering every thing which is
worth preserving in society, and to unite against the
common enemy, I should feel no manner of appre-
hension for the event of the contest in which we are
engaged, with foreign and domestic enemies. But
whilst we are divided, and men of rank and charac-
ter are found ready to hazard every thing for the
possible success of little paltry personal objects, the
crisis becomes awful indeed. If Ireland is to be
tranquillized, the first step towards it must be to
crush rebellion. No lenity will appease the factious
rancour of modern Irish reformers, nor will any
measure of conciliation satisfy them short of a pure
democracy, established by the influence, and gua-
ranteed by the power of the French Republic.

LORD MOIRA having in his reply stated, that
he did not wonder the people of Ireland should wish
for Parliamentary Reform, when an official decla-
ration had been made in the House of Commons,
that

The subject never was debated in the House of Lords. The
 that half a million must be expended to put down
 the opposition. The CHANCELLOR, in answer
 to this observation, thanked his Lordship for having
 afforded him an opportunity of publicly refuting
 a calumny which had been propagated with uncom-
 mon industry. The Chancellor stated, that in the
 Session of 1789, during the indisposition of his Ma-
 jesty, when a debate arose upon a vote of censure
 moved against Lord Buckingham, because he de-
 clined to transmit an Address to his Royal Highness
 the Prince of Wales, an observation was made in
 the House of Commons, by some other gentleman,
 that a censure had some years before been voted
 against Lord Townshend, and that in the same Par-
 liament, a flattering Address had been also voted to
 him. The Chancellor said, that in adverting to this
 observation in the course of the debate, he stated
 simply, that he had heard that Address in all its con-
 sequences, cost the Irish nation half a million; and
 the story which has been built on this naked obser-
 vation, on a statement made in debate by another
 gentleman, is, that he had, in defending new of-
 fices created by Lord Buckingham, justified the ex-
 penditure of half a million in putting down the op-
 position in the House of Commons: he said he was
 not surprised that Lord Moira had been imposed up-
 on by this impudent falsehood; but that two plain
 facts were sufficient for its detection: one is, that
 the new offices complained of, were not created
 until after he [the Chancellor] had ceased to be a
 Member of the House of Commons; and the sub-
 ject

ject never was debated in the House of Lords. The other fact he stated to be, that when he made the observation, he voted in a small and virtuous minority in the House of Commons, when so far from his speaking officially, it was generally understood, that he was to go out of Office on the change of Administration, which was expected immediately to take place, so much so, that his successor was publicly named. As to the transactions in Lord Townshend's time, he could have spoken of them merely from report, as at the time they took place, he was at the University of Oxford.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

Containing Original Papers, referred to in the
 foregoing Speech,

Die Jovis 7^o Martii, 1793.

THE Lord Chancellor from the Lord Commissioners appointed to inquire into the causes of the disorders and disturbances which prevail in several Parts of this Kingdom, to endeavour to discover the Promoters of them, to prevent their extension, and to report the result of their inquiries to the House, made the following report, viz.

My Lords,

THE Committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the disorders and disturbances which prevail in several parts of this Kingdom, to endeavour to discover the promoters of them, to prevent their extension, and to report the result of their inquiries to the House, have examined into the matters to them referred as far as the time would permit, but apprehending that delay may be attended with danger in the present circumstances of the times, they think it their duty to lay before the House immediately such information as they conceive to be material for the present, which is as follows:

The people at this time called Defenders, are very different from those who originally assumed that appellation, and are all, as far as the Committee could discover, of the Roman Catholic persuasion; in general poor ignorant labouring men, sworn to lewdry, and impelled with an opinion

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The people at this time called Defenders, are very different from those who originally assumed that appellation, and are all, as far as the Committee could discover, of the Roman Catholic persuasion; in general poor ignorant labouring men, sworn to secrecy, and impressed with an opinion

that they are assisting the Catholic cause; in other respects they do not appear to have any distinct particular objection in view, but they talk of being relieved from hearth-money tithes, county cesses, and of lowering their rents. They first appeared in the county of Louth, in considerable bodies in April last, several of them were armed, they assembled mostly in the night and forced into the houses of Protestants, and took from them their arms. The disorders soon spread through the counties of Meath, Cavan, Monaghan and other parts adjacent; at first they took nothing but arms, but afterwards they plundered the houses of every thing they could find. Their measures appear to have been concerted and conducted with the utmost secrecy, and a degree of regularity and system not usual in people in such mean condition, and as if directed by men of a superior rank. Sums of money to a considerable amount, have been levied and still continue to be levied upon the Roman Catholics in all parts of the Kingdom, by subscriptions and collections at their Chapels and elsewhere; some of which levies have been made, and still continue to be made under the authority of a printed circular letter which has been sent into all parts of the Kingdom; a copy of which letter we think it our duty to insert herein.

Sir,

" By an order of the sub-committee, dated the fifteenth of January, I had the honour to forward you a plan for a general subscription, which had for its object the raising a fund for defraying the heavy and growing expences incurred by the General Committee, in conducting the affairs of the Catholics of Ireland; as several mistakes have occurred in the transmission of these letters, owing to my ignorance of the address of many of the delegates, I am directed to inform you, that such a plan is now in forwardness throughout the Kingdom. As a measure so strongly enforced by necessity, and so consonant to justice, cannot fail to attract your very serious attention, the Committee having the most perfect reliance on your zeal, are

" therefore

"therefore confident that you will use your best exertions to carry this necessary business into full effect."

Dublin, February 5th 1793.

"Signed by the
Secretary of the sub-committee."

P. S. It is hoped that you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter, stating at the same time whatever progress has been made in your district."

Several seditious and inflammatory papers published in Dublin, and dispersed through the country, seem to have countenanced and encouraged the defenders in their proceedings; and it appears that letters were written by a Member of the Committee of the Roman Catholics of Dublin, previous to the last Summer Assizes, to a person resident at Dundalk, in one of which the said person in the name of the said Roman Catholic Committee, directed inquiries to be made, touching the offences of which the Defenders then in confinement were accused, which inquiries will be best explained by inserting the said letter in the words following:

Dublin, 9th August, 1792.

"Dear Sir,
"I received this day your favour of the 8th instant, enclosing the different papers respecting the business I wrote you. It is with much regret that I am obliged to reply, that for the want of information on the subject matter of the indictments, no precise opinion can be formed whether the alleged offence is or is not bailable; the Committee are consequently in the dark as to the measures that should be adopted, nor can your exertions accelerate (as it seems) that period until the Assizes, when you will be able to obtain office copies of the examinations. Mr. Nugent's brother left town this day truly disconsolate, in not being able to effect something towards the

"I am, dear Sir

Your obedient Servant,

Mr. John Sweetman

1. If any new occurrence should happen, be good enough to inform me of it.

And it does appear that the said person to whom the said letter was addressed at Dundalk, did employ at a considerable expense, an agent and counsel to act for several persons who were accused of being Defenders, and were indicted for offences committed by them in the county of Louth, one of which offenders appears to be particularly named in the above letter. But the committee think it their duty to state, that nothing appeared before them which could lead them to believe that the body of the Roman Catholics in this kingdom were concerned in promoting or countenancing such disturbances; or that they were privy to this application of any part of the money which had been levied upon them, however suspicious the conduct of ill-disposed individuals of their persuasions, resident in Dublin may have been. If all the magistrates in the disturbed counties had followed the spirited example of the few, who, much to their honour, exerted themselves with vigour and courage to support the laws, the committee are persuaded that these disturbances might have been suppressed; but instead of doing so, much the greater part of them remained inactive.—The committee are of opinion, that the best means of restoring permanent tranquillity in the disturbed counties, would be to procure a sufficient number of active, resolute, and steady magistrates therein, who would exert themselves to maintain the public peace; and to cut off from these deluded people, all hope or expectation of support or defence arising from a common fund to be levied upon persons of their communion.

An unusual ferment has for some months past disturbed several parts of the north, particularly the town of Belfast and the county of Antrim, it is kept and encouraged by seditious papers and pamphlets of the most dangerous tendency, printed at very cheap and inconsiderable rates in Dublin and Belfast, which issue almost daily from certain societies of men or clubs in both those places, calling themselves committees under various descriptions and carrying on a constant correspondence with each other. These publications are circulated amongst the people with the utmost industry, and appear to be calculated to defame the Government and Parliament, and to render the people dissatisfied with their condition and with the laws. The conduct of the French is shamefully extolled, and recommended to the public View as an example for imitation; hopes and expectations have been held up of their assistance by a descent upon this kingdom, and prayers have been offered up at Belfast from the pulpit, for the success of their arms, in the presence of military associations which have been newly levied and arrayed in that town. A body of men associated themselves in Dublin under the title of the first national battalion, their uniform is copied from the French, green turned up with white, white waistcoat and striped trousers, gilt buttons impressed with a harp and letters importing "First National Battalion," no Crown but a device over the harp of a cap of Liberty upon a pedestal surmounted by a wreath. Several bodies of men have been collected in different parts of the North, armed and disciplined under officers chosen by themselves, and composed mostly of the lowest classes of the people. These bodies are daily increasing in numbers and forming they have exerted their best endeavours to procure military men of experience to act as their officers, some of them having expressly stated that there were men enough to be had but that officers were what they wanted. Stacks of arms and gunpowder to a very large amount, much above the common consumption, have been sent within these few months past to Belfast and Newry, and orders given for much greater

greater quantity, which it appears could be wanted only for military operations. At Belfast, bodies of men in arms are drilled and exercised for several hours almost every night by candle-light, and attempts have been made to seduce the soldiery, which, much to the honour of the King's forces, have proved ineffectual. The declared object of these military bodies is to procure a reform of Parliament, but the obvious intention of most of them appears to be to overawe the Parliament and the Government, and to dictate to both. The Committee forbear mentioning the names of several persons, lest it should in any manner affect any criminal prosecution, or involve the personal safety of any man who has come forward to give them information. The result of their inquiries is, that in their opinion it is incompatible with the public safety and tranquility of this kingdom, to permit bodies of men in arms to assemble when they please, without any legal authority; and that the existence of a self-created representative body of any description of the King's subjects, taking upon itself the government of them, and levying taxes or subscriptions, to be applied at the discretion of such representative body, or of persons deputed by them, is also incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity.

To which the House agreed.

Dublin Castle, 3d March, 1797.

Sir,
I am commanded by my Lord Lieutenant to acquaint you, that from the information received by his Excellency with respect to various parts of the North of Ireland, additional measures to those hitherto employed for preserving the public peace, are become necessary. It appears that in the counties of Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Derry and Donegal, secret and treasonable associations still continue to an alarming degree, and that the persons concerned in these associations

associations are attempting to defeat all the exertions of the loyal and well disposed, by the means of terrorism, that they threaten the lives of all who shall venture, if not regard to their duty and oath of allegiance, to discover their treasons; that they assemble in great numbers by night, and by threats and force, disturb the peaceable inhabitants; that they have fired on his Majesty's justices of the peace when endeavouring to apprehend them in their nocturnal robberies; that they threaten by papers, letters, and notices, the persons of those who shall in any manner resist or oppose them; that in their nightly excursions for the purpose of disarming his Majesty's loyal subjects, they disguise their persons and countenances; that they endeavour to collect great quantities of arms in concealed hiding-places; that they have cut down great numbers of trees on the estates of the gentry, for the purpose of making pikes; that they have stolen great quantities of lead for the purpose of casting bullets; that they privately by night exercise themselves in the practice of arms; that they endeavour to intimidate persons from joining the yeomanry corps established by law in order to resist a foreign enemy; that they refuse to employ in manufactures those who enlist in the said corps; that they not only threaten but ill-treat the persons of the yeomanry, and even attack their houses by night, and proceed to the barbarous extremity of deliberate and shocking murder, as was exemplified in their recent attack, and murder by night, of Mr. Comyns of Newtown Ards, and that they profess a resolution to assist the enemies of his Majesty, if they should be enabled to land in this kingdom.

It further appears, that these disturbances and outrages exist and even increase, as well in the districts which have been proclaimed, as in other parts of the country.

In order therefore to reduce the persons engaged in the aforesaid treasonable associations, and guilty of the said atrocious outrages, to subordination to the laws, and to give confidence to the well disposed among His Majesty's subjects, and security to their properties and their lives, and to prevent any

any assistance being given to the enemy by the disposal and direction of the troops. His Excellency has commanded me to communicate to you his Majesty's orders, that you take the most immediate and decisive measures for disposing of the military force under your command, aided by the yeomanry corps, for immediately disarming all persons who shall not bear His Majesty's commission, or are acting under persons so commissioned, or persons holding commissions under the authority of the yeomanry act, or persons acting under officers so commissioned, and after making such disposition, you are required to carry such disarming into effect.

His Excellency gives you this full authority, in order to give your discretion the greatest latitude, relying at the same time on your prudence and discernment in the exercise of it, so that the peaceable and well affected may be protected against the evil designs of those who have threatened their lives and property with destruction.

His Excellency further authorizes you to employ force against any persons assembled in arms, not legally authorized so to be, to disperse all tumultuous assemblies of persons, tho' they may not be in arms, without waiting for the sanction and assistance of the civil authority, if in your opinion the peace of the realm or the safety of His Majesty's faithful subjects may be endangered by waiting for such authority.

His Excellency further authorizes you to consider those parts of the country where the outrages before stated have been committed, or where they shall arise, as being in a state that requires all the measures of caution and precaution which a country depending on military force alone for its protection would require; and you are therefore required, to station your troops with a view to interrupt communication between those whom you may have reason to suspect of evil designs; to establish patrols on the high roads or other passes, and to stop all persons passing and repassing after certain hours of the night, and in order completely to carry into effect any orders or regulations, which in the circumstances of the case may be considered by you as necessary. You are authorized

to issue notices stating the regulations, and calling upon
his Majesty's subjects to be aiding and assisting therein.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

To Your Excellency, &c. &c. &c. T. P.

Dublin Castle, 18th May, 1797.

My Lord,

The Lord Lieutenant and Council having judged it ex-

pedient to call upon his Majesty's troops to exert their ut-

most force to suppress a seditious and traitorous conspiracy

of persons styling themselves United Irishmen, I am com-

manded by his Excellency to transmit to your Lordship a

copy of the proclamation issued on this subject, and to de-

sire that your Lordship will issue the necessary orders to

the troops under your command in consequence thereof.

His Excellency has directed me to represent to your Lord-

ship, that as the traitorous and treasonable designs of these

conspirators extend to the subversion of the constitution

and government, it will be necessary to take measures of

general precaution, so that the troops may be prepared to

act, whenever it becomes necessary to have recourse to their

executions. In those parts of the kingdom where these de-

signs have been manifested by acts of open violence, it will

be necessary to give the officers of his Majesty's troops

more precise directions for their conduct. In such parts

of the kingdom as have been disturbed by nocturnal depre-

dations, where the lives of his Majesty's loyal subjects have

been endangered by persons collected in arms, attacking

and firing upon their houses, and where assemblies of per-

sons have been collected for the purpose of unlawfully cut-

ting down trees, or perpetrating other acts of outrage,

additional precaution should be adopted for the security of

the lives and property of his Majesty's loyal subjects, and

opposing

opposing by the most effectual means such attempts of violence.

Diligent inquiry should be made respecting any concealed arms or ammunition, and for pikes, and pike handles, and upon information thereof, officers commanding parties should be directed to search for and seize the same.

Any persons armed with pikes or other weapons, in resistance of his Majesty's troops, are to be considered as rebels and treated accordingly. All persons exercising themselves in the use of arms, under persons not holding his Majesty or the Lord Lieutenant's commission, are to be disarmed and apprehended, and in case of resistance to be treated as rebels, and as it appears to be a part of the system of these conspirators to take the opportunity of funerals and other occasions to assemble considerable numbers of persons, the officers of his Majesty's army should be directed, in pursuance of this proclamation, to watch all such assemblies, and if, from their number or other circumstances, the public peace should appear to be endangered, they will disperse them; and as various attempts have been made to seduce his Majesty's troops from their duty and allegiance, you will direct all persons of suspicious appearance, who shall come within the lines of any encampment, barrack, or other stations of his Majesty's troops, to be detained.

And his Excellency further desires that your Lordship will, from time to time, communicate such instructions to the officers of his Majesty's troops, as you shall deem best adapted, for carrying into effect his Excellency's proclamation, and as local exigencies may demand.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

Humble servant,

To Earl Carhampton,
Commander in Chief.

THOMAS PELHAM.

In

[1]

In obedience to the order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council, it is the Commander in Chief's commands, that the military do act without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates, in dispersing any tumultuous unlawful assemblies of persons, threatening the peace of the realm and the safety of the lives and properties of his Majesty's loyal subjects wheresoever collected.

Any persons armed with arms of war, or who are to be considered as rebels and treated accordingly. All persons exercising them selves in the use of arms, under persons not holding his Majesty or the Lord Lieutenant's commission, are to be disarmed and apprehended, and in case of resistance to be treated as rebels, and as it appears to be a part of the duty of these conspirators to take the opportunity of tumults and other occasions to assemble considerable numbers of persons, the officers of his Majesty's army should be directed, in pursuance of this proclamation, to watch all such assemblies, and if from their number or other circumstances, the public peace should appear to be endangered, they will disperse them; and as various attempts have been made to seduce his Majesty's troops from their duty and allegiance, you will direct all persons of suspicious appearance, who shall come within the lines of any encampment, barrack, or other stations of his Majesty's troops, to be detained.

THE END.

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I have the honour to be

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

Humble servant,

THOMAS PELHAM

To Earl Corporation,
Commander in Chief

In obedience to the order of the Lord Lieutenant in
Council, it is the Commander in Chief's command, that
the military do not without waiting for directions from the
Civil Magistrates, in dispersing any tumultuous unlawful
assemblies of persons, threatening the peace of the realm
and the safety of the King and properties of his Majesty's
loyal subjects whatsoever.

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